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APPENDICES.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

APPENDICES.

	PAGE.
A 1. Extracts from Ganpati <i>Mela</i> Songs	i-ii
A 2. Article in the <i>Surya Prakash</i>	iii
A 3. Tilak's statement of August 1914	iv
B 1. Extracts from newspapers	v-xvii
B 2. Extracts from leaflets	xviii-xxix
B 3. Distribution of leaflets	xxx-xxxii
B 4. Khulna-Jessore case documents	xxxiii-1
B 5. Extracts from statements relative to the supply of arms from Chander- nagore	li
B 6. Samiti documents—	
(i) Samiti vows	lii-lv
(ii) A Samiti vow taken by a student	lvi
(iii) & (iv) Rules for members, Dacca Anusilan <i>Samiti</i>	lvii-lx
(v) The duties of Secretaries	lxi-lxii
(vi) The Visitor	lxiii-lxvi
(vii) Parwanas	lxvii-lxix
(viii) Village notes	lxx-lxxi
(ix) General principles of revolutionary organisation	lxxii-lxxvi
(x) Exposition of Russian revolutionary methods	lxxvii-lxxx
(xi) A District Organisation Scheme	lxxxii-lxxxiv
(xii) Rules for membership	lxxxv
(xiii) Samiti Rules	lxxxvi
(xiv) Amulya Sarkar's revolutionary pamphlet	lxxxvii-civ
(xv) Revolutionary establishment	cv
(xvi) Revolutionary Organisation Scheme	cvi-cviii
(xvii) Quarterly Report	cix-cxii
(xviii) A Revolutionary account book	cxiii-cxiv
(xix) Part of a Revolutionary note-book	cxv
(xx) A list of revolutionaries	cxvi
(xxi) A cypher list of names	cxvii-cxviii
(xxii) Part of a Revolutionary note-book	cxiv-cxxi
(xxiii) Ditto ditto	cxxii-cxxiii
(xxiv) Disposition of arms in the Comilla attempted dacoity, 1912	cxxiv
(xxv) List of cartridges, etc.	cxxv
(xxvi) Ditto	cxxvi
(xxvii) A Revolutionary letter	cxxvii
(xxviii) Ditto	cxxviii
(xxix) Ditto	cxxix
(xxx) Ditto	cxxx
(xxxi) Ditto	cxxxi
(xxxii) Ditto	cxxxii
(xxxiii) Ditto	cxxxiii
(xxxiv) Ditto	cxxxiv
B 7. Table of District Organisers Facing	cxxxiv
B 8 & 9. Extracts from statements showing inter-communication of parties	cxxxv-cxxxviii
B 10. Extracts from statements showing the amalgamation of parties	cxxxix
B 11. Recoveries of Mauser pistols (Rodda & Co.)	cxli-cxlii
B 12. Extracts from statements shbwing interchange of arms between parties	cxlii-cxliii
B 13. Extracts from statements relative to the preparation of bombs at Chanderuagore	cxliv
B 14. Kuntal Chakrabarti's letter	cxlv-cxlvii
B 15. The Police of Bengal	cxlviii-cxlix
C. Extract from the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915	cl

APPENDIX A 1.

TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS FROM A BOOK OF GANPATI MELA SONGS COMPOSED BY GAJANAN CHINTAMANI DEV, AND PUBLISHED AND SOLD IN POONA BY JANARDHAN BALKRISHNA PARANJPE IN 1895.

Preface.

Fortunately a feeling of reverence for Sri Ganpati has been awakened in our hearts after a long time, and this fact leaves no doubt that the Lord of the Universe intends restoring us to our former glory.

II (Page 2).

People, how stupid you have become! You have abandoned your own religion. Having forgotten to worship and to offer prayers to the auspicious Lord Ganpati, why do you enter an alien religion and bring yourselves into a sorry plight? You have been bringing ruin upon the Arya religion which your forefathers protected by undergoing various troubles. How are you not ashamed of this? Now at last come to your senses and see with your open eyes. Perform the festivities in honour of Gavaraya and make your life fruitful.

III (Page 7).

Be fully propitious and bring back to the Hindus their old glory, which has departed. Create amongst us heroes like Sivaji, King Baji (Peshwa Baji Rao I) and the benevolent saint Sri Ram Das (Guru of Sivaji). Create in our minds the proud feeling of sacrificing our lives for our religion, for our country and for our countrymen. Oh Bhagvan (God), break the fetters of subjection to aliens and raise Hindustan to the highest pinnacle of advancement.

IV (pages 7 and 8).

Let the Arya religion, which is on its way to ruin, prosper and let there remain no enemy to it. Let some avenger of the Cow and the Brahmin be born. Our eyes are specially directed towards him. Let the Government have full confidence in us and let it raise the Hindus to (posts of) high authority.

TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS FROM A BOOK OF GANPATI MELA SONGS PUBLISHED BY KESHAV MARTAND CHIPADE IN 1895.

(3) The Religion is no longer active and there are enemies to it. No one had compassion to protect the Brahmins and cows. Love of our own country and customs is continuously decreasing. Remove our slavery and show to the Hindus their former state.

(10) Oh, good men, sing the songs of Sri Vinayak . . . He, the Head of all the Gods, will give birth to a warrior like Sivaji and will certainly raise the status of the nation. You should understand in your minds that he will remove our slavery and love towards the religion of others.

TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS FROM A BOOK OF GANPATI MELA SONGS PUBLISHED BY ONE CHATRE IN 1897 AT NASIK.

Stanza II, page 2, lines 5—9.

He (Ganpati) certainly rescues (his) devotees both from subjection to others which gives (us) trouble here and from punishment by Yama* in the next world.

Let us cast off laziness, become active (and) humble the haughtiness of those who are against our interests.

Stanza III, lines 2—4.

Oh Gajanan! Endow us with capacity and wisdom to enable us to bring about the deliverance of the Aryas from helplessness and slavery.

Stanza VI, page 8, last 2 lines, and page 9, first three lines.

The people are harassed by three (evils), viz., ignorance, helplessness and dependence, (therefore) set these (three evils) right gradually. Teach (the people) useful arts (and) free them from helplessness by means of industry, (and) lo! they will then easily become the votaries of independence.

* God of Death.

Stanza VI, page 9, lines 11 and 12.

Though dependence has left no strength (in the people) their collective strength has not departed.

Stanza VI, page 10, lines 3—8.

Government are not fools like you. Though they sometimes take you by the hand, they fully understand public opinion. They are very sagacious. It appears that they excite mutual dissension amongst the people, telling one man to run away and another to seize him; knowing that these people, though natives of India, are intrepid and brave Aryas, they cautiously bear the yoke of administration.

Stanza VII.

Do you consider why we are in such a plight? Do you ever feel any anxiety for your country? Alas! do you call to mind that (*i.e.*, former) position of us Aryas? Do you do anything calculated to do good to your people?

Stanza X, lines 1 and 2.

We were once Masters of this land, but are now the slaves of foreigners.

Stanza XIII.

How great was our glory! How has such poverty overtaken us? What misfortune has overtaken (us)! Even our virtues have left us! Where did we lose our independence? Who threw us into slavery? That light of knowledge has disappeared. Ignorance has completely swallowed us. If, freeing ourselves from this (condition), we regain the former position of the Aryas, then only we shall have attained the object of our existence.

Stanza XV, lines 4—6.

May Ganpati fulfil the wish of this (writer), who is none else but a votary praying for a speedy emancipation (of his country) from slavery.

APPENDIX A 2.

TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE IN THE "SURYA PRAKASH" DATED OCTOBER 30TH, 1909,
A NON-POLITICAL PAPER OF SURAT.

This is surely a strange age in which even Gods are dragged down from their pedestals to be thrown into the hurly-burly of politics.

Now it is well known that the cult of Ganpati is not so much in vogue in Gujerath as in the Deccan, and it will therefore be readily understood that the Ganpati worshippers hail from the land of Maharashtra. The head and front of the offence with which the Ganpati devotees are charged is that they make the God a magnetic centre to attract the waves of discontent, this festival they used as an occasion for the dissemination of sedition. It must be admitted that this charge is not unfounded. It is an old and well-understood game of politics to stir up enthusiasm under the cloak of religion, and we would not give our friends of the Deccan credit for the shrewdness they are said to possess if they allowed the opportunity furnished by the *mêlas* at the time of the Ganpati festival to pass, without discussing politics. Many preachers called Haradasas, who are usually supposed to engage in the recitation of religious stories intermixed with humorous episodes, are but political emissaries, who during their discourses deal more with the burning controversies of the present than with the pacific stories of the past. The great and good Ram Das Swami, Sivaji's spiritual teacher, has also been pressed into service by our political enthusiasts, and it is no wonder that Ganpati should be similarly commandeered.

APPENDIX A 3.

TILAK'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 1914.

A couple of months ago, when I had an occasion to address those who came to congratulate me on my safe return to Poona, I observed that I was very much in the position of Rip Van Winkle returning to his home after a long sleep in the wilderness. Since then I have had opportunities to fill up the gaps in my information as to what has occurred during my absence, and to take stock of the march of events in India during the past six years. And let me assure you that in spite of certain measures like the Press Act,—upon which, however, it is not necessary for me to dilate in this place at any length,—I for one do not give up the hope of the country steadily making further progress in the realisation of its cherished goal. The reforms introduced during Lord Morley's and Lord Minto's administration will show that Government is fully alive to the necessity of progressive change and desire to associate the people more and more in the work of Government. It can also be claimed, and fairly conceded, that this indicates a marked increase of confidence between the rulers and the ruled, and a sustained endeavour to remove popular grievances. Considered from a public point of view, I think this is a distinct gain; and though it may not be all unalloyed, I confidently hope that in the end the good arising out of the constitutional reforms will abide and prevail, and that which is objectionable will disappear. The view may appear optimistic to some; but it is an article of faith with me, and in my opinion such a belief alone can inspire us to work for the good of our country in co-operation with Government.

There is another matter to which it is necessary to refer. I find that during the six years of my absence an attempt has been made in the English press here and in England, as for example in Mr. Chirol's book, to interpret my actions and writings as a direct or indirect incitement to deeds of violence, or my speeches as uttered with the object of subverting the British rule in India. I am sorry the attempt happened to be made at a time when I was not a free citizen to defend myself. But I think I ought to take the first public opportunity to indignantly repudiate these nasty and totally unfounded charges against me. I have, like other political workers, my own differences with the Government as regards certain measures, and to a certain extent even the system of internal administration. But it is absurd on that account to speak of my actions or my attitude as in any way hostile to His Majesty's Government. That has never been my wish or my object. I may state once for all that we are trying in India, as the Irish Home-rulers have been doing in Ireland, for a reform of the system of administration and not for the overthrow of Government; and I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which have been committed in the different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded, to a great extent, the pace of our political progress. Whether looked at from an individual or from a public point of view they deserve, as I have said before on several occasions, to be equally condemned.

APPENDIX B 1.

EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS.*

1907

"SANDHYA," 1ST APRIL 1907.

The Bengal Provincial Conference.

(1) There was no shouting like monkeys of "Hip, hip, hurrah," at the mention of the name of the *Feringhi* Emperor. A paper affixed to the walls of the Conference Hall bearing the words "God save the Emperor" was torn down.

"BANDE MATARAM," 7TH APRIL 1907.

Though we have numerical superiority on our side, we did not so long take advantage of it. Though we knew that if each of us throw a handful of dust on the Englishmen they would be buried under it, we did not so long trouble ourselves to get that handful of dust. A few of us held amateur conferences to complain of our condition, but we did not take people with us and excite in them a desire for freedom. All our time was spent in a timid praise of the mighty power of the English called forth at the sight of their rifles and bayonets. We did not search where our own power lay. That power must now be carefully employed for our benefit. We must form a company for self-defence, and that is now our second duty. Unless we can fulfil this duty neither *swadeshi* nor expulsion can go on. The formation of such a company is necessary for self-defence in the present and for guarding against future evils. Men burdened with learning or loaded with honours will not help in the achievement of this object. It is upon the youth, whose hearts have not yet been darkened by the shadow of the world and who are prepared to sacrifice everything for the sake of an ideal, that this task is imposed.

In almost every country the people come to be divided into three parties before a revolution. One party turns traitor to the country and helps the established Government, the second party (and this consists of the majority of the population), though hankering after freedom and prepared to make some little sacrifice for attaining it, is unwilling to plunge into war for its sake, and the third party consists of men to whom life without freedom is a burden and who are willing even to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their ideal. It is gradually becoming necessary to form a third party like this in every town and every village and link them together. The more clearly the ideal manifests itself among us, the more terrible will the appearance of the English become and the greater will be our need of self-defence. Empty words will not convince the illiterate folk. Their sympathy must be enlisted by helping them when the need for self-defence arises, and their gratitude must be secured by sacrifice for their benefit. In that case, they will gradually come to be convinced that without freedom we cannot exist as a nation, and that the attainment of freedom is not quite so difficult a task. They will also then learn to place confidence in the youth of the country.

"BANDE MATARAM," 5TH MAY 1907.

But it is useless to talk to you (Englishmen) in this strain. You are not men, you are demons, you are *asuras*.

"BANDE MATARAM," 12TH MAY 1907.

The situation in Eastern Bengal and an appeal to the Hindus.

But with all their efforts the English will not be able to keep the native troops blind for ever. The Rajput, the Sikh, the Gurkha, the Maratha, the Talingi and the Hindusthani hero will, as soon as he sees another Chillianwala, Mudki, or Panipat imminent, clasp his sword and flock under the Mother's standard. The lion cub never fears death. To the Arya hero, who sees God in himself, there is no such thing as death; the Arya has conquered death. India is to-day flooded by the great deluge which is running towards success. The soil of the country which is already moist with the water of patriotism needs to be fertilised by sprinkling of blood. The sons of the goddess of wealth may to-day be unwilling to lay down their perishable bodies for the sake of their Mother, but that will not be so for ever. However tight the English may hold the sepoy in the grasp of the law, and however deeply they may keep him steeped in ignorance, the Indian will be able to bring him back to the Mother in a day. The oppressive *Feringhi*, conscious of his sins, has become quite overpowered by his cowardice and is busy impeding the path of the students and the native troops by throwing flimsy obstacles in their path. Dunce, do you keep yourself informed of the number of the proud "Airavatus" (the elephant of the god Indra) that were washed away in the past like so many pieces of straw by the current of the Bhagirathi?

* Translated from Bengali.

"JUGANTAR," JUNE 1907.

An exhortation to take heart.

The fact that we are meeting with so many obstacles in striving to achieve our end shows that liberation is inevitable. The perverse intellect of the English, the frantic ravings of the loyal, the loud laughter or the scoffing words of the sceptic are to us reasons for hope rather than for despair. That in which you find reasons for discouragement or fear is to real workers rather a source of hope and encouragement. This very darkness indicates the advent of light. In this very death are imbedded the germs of life. This very persecution is laying foundations of strength. This very bewildering cry of those in fear and in trepidation is the prelude to the harmonious lay of the future. This very cyclone will gradually thicken (gather strength) and pave the way for lasting peace. Whoso longs for an immortal object must be prepared to tread this path environed with perils. This is but the beginning of the end: the land will be turned into a vast cremation ground, wails will rise from every house, dogs and jackals will leap and frisk, human heads and human skeletons will lie scattered on paths and ways, the soil of India that is green with harvest will be crimsoned with torrents of blood, the horrid dance of the goddess of battle will awaken a mighty vibration in every heart, people will be scourged by hunger as keen as that which led the starving sage Viswamitra to the Chandala's* hut, there to partake of dog's flesh.

"BANDE MATARAM," JUNE 1907.

Repression of the national sentiments.

As the Mogul Peacock Throne exists now only in name, so will one day the story of your Empire and your oppressions appear like dreams in an independent India. The fact that India was one day subject to the English will appear an incredible story to the youth of independent India.

Do not be afraid, we are not come to beg independence of you gratis. Your Gurkhas, Highlanders, Maxims and Martinis,—we have seen them all. That you have laid a thousand traps to kill men, we know that too. You can kill a few, but there your power ends. What punishment have you provided for those who will embrace death with a smile? Death is but the constant companion, the companion in mirth and the one only refuge from pain of those in whose country five to seven thousand men die every day of plague alone. Do you think that the people whose grandmothers immolated themselves with smiling faces on the funeral pyres of their husbands have become so degraded that not one among them will have the courage to slight death.

"BANDE MATARAM," 9TH JUNE 1907.

The present situation.

The English think that the agitation which extends over the whole country will cease as soon as a few newspapers and a few speakers are gagged. But the mouths of how many people will the English gag when all India from the sea to the Himalayas is shaken by the united voices of three hundred millions of men, invigorated with the new strength and new spirit? How many Indians will the weapon of the handful of English residents in India be able to kill? How long can foreigners, whose sole support is oppression, remain in a country whose people do not want them? He who has to live in water cannot afford to quarrel with the crocodile. The foreigner can remain in this country only so long as we suffer him to remain. The moment that a newly risen nation says, "There is no room in the country for foreigners," that very moment will all the rights and privileges of foreigners fall to the dust like flowers separated from their stalks.

"JUGANTAR," 15TH JULY 1907.

The question of the strength of our following—Shall we be able?

We have shown that, when the idea of the necessity of independence awakes in a nation's mind, it ponders over its own weakness as also over the strength of the antagonistic sovereign power; and it tries every means of removing its own weakness, so that it may fight with that power. And the very first thing that this attempt puts in its mind is the question of the strength of following that is available. Besides its strong army, the antagonistic sovereign power gets great help from other people also. But the conquered nation has not only no army, but very few people help it at the commencement of a revolution. The established sovereign power not only rules

* The name of a low caste.

with the army, but, by oppression and administrative severity, creates such a terror in men's minds that no one at first ventures to take part in a revolutionary movement intended for its destruction. Every one fears that, if the angry look of the sovereign power falls on him, there will be no end to his misery. It is quite natural that there should exist such a feeling of dread in the hearts of common people. In such a state of things, therefore, all work of revolution is begun by a few persons, who know no fear and possess strength of mind.

The revolutionaries first of all silently strengthen their own party and adopt various means for the purpose of bringing the public over to their own opinion. While trying to strengthen their own party, the minds of common people have to be drawn towards revolution. The end sought for is not achieved simply by a strengthening of their own party, the field of work has to be prepared along with it. Besides this, the revolutionists have, first of all, to fight the delusion which the antagonistic sovereign power spreads over the public mind.

(1) First, the revolutionaries have to establish their own party all over the country. The centre (central association) of the revolutionary party has to be placed in the capital city or in some other important place. Different branch associations of the centre (central association) have to be established in other important places in the country; and in those branch associations the common aim and method of work of the association are followed. These central and branch associations silently and secretly do their own work in unison. Whether it be the branch associations or the central association, all of course make, each in its own way, various preparations for a revolution, such as the formation of public opinion, collection of arms, collection of money, etc., but in everything they do they have to advance very secretly, keeping themselves outside the ken of the sovereign power. The sovereign power never quietly brooks preparations for its destruction. It tries its best to nip the tree of revolution in the bud. The party trying to secure independence has, therefore, to adopt various artifices in order to evade the eagle eye of the sovereign power.

(2) In this manner the necessity of a revolution has to be explained in various ways to common people. The object of educating common people in this fashion is that at the time of the real fight with the sovereign power they will, instead of opposing, render help in various ways. Herein lies the strength of the following of the revolutionists. By educating people in this manner, while the strength of the following of the revolutionists is increased, that of the sovereign power is decreased. If the true nature of the oppressor is painted in bright colours and placed before common people and they are shown the way in which the oppression he commits can be brought to an end, then a desire to break the strong chain of subjection is created in their hearts also. There are various ways of educating people in this fashion. We shall mention only one or two. The sacred cry for independence has to be raised from that direction from which it would be easiest to capture the public mind. Man's mind can be very soon captured by means of newspapers, books, *jatras* (operatic performances), *kathakata* (singing and narrating), spirited poetry, etc. If, therefore, the *mantra* (the principle) of independence is promulgated by these means men's hearts very soon advance towards the field of action.

In this manner, in spite of the vast strength of the following of the sovereign power, the popular power becomes equal to and sometimes even stronger than it. A nation desiring independence never desists from the performance of its own work in the face of difficulties and hindrances. Like dewdrops at sunrise all obstacles vanish before its firmness and courage. The seed of future success is thus sown in a very short time in the matter of securing the strength of following. History testifies in glowing letters that there is such a mighty power inherent in the ideals of truth and independence that before it the roaring firearms and the great strength of the following of the oppressor vanish in the air.

"JUGANTAR," 16TH JUNE 1907.

"Dispelling fear."

In the course of conversation a respected pandit said the other day that this vast British Empire was a huge sham; that it was a house without a foundation or a garland strung without a thread; that though it glittered so and looked so nice with its crimson hue, a slight pull or a little push would bring it down to fragments. But that it does not fall is due simply to our foolishness. The tide of oppression has passed over us for century after century. Subjection for a thousand years has so bewildered us with fear that we cannot master enough courage even to come out of the privacy of our houses in order to see who is sitting to-day as King on the vacant throne. We see the high diadem from a distance and utter our prayers and take the name of God. Our King, too, seeing the opportunity, is aggravating our internal confusion by sometimes wielding the sceptre and sometimes smiling a forced smile. He and we have never become intimately acquainted with each other. A close look at the face of a ghost dispels all fear of it.

After looking at it from a distance for so long, we too have at last come to suspect that the hands and feet of the ghost are not really so strong as its face is hideous; that the bogey is not really as large as we have supposed it to be. What we

ought to do now most of all, therefore, is to give a little push to the bogey and see what happens.

“JUGANTAR,” 30TH JULY 1907.

“False Fear.”

If the blind man be called blind, his anger knows no bounds. If the hand be applied to the part afflicted with pain, the person so treated becomes at once unconscious with agony. Everybody tries to hide his wounds from exposure to the world. The British Sarkar in India is also in the same predicament. The English feel in their heart of hearts how feeble is the foundation of British rule in this country; and it is because they feel it that they want to hide their weakness under cover of gigantic pageants, try to astound the people by the display of a few soldiers, cannon, and *lal pugrees* (police constables). Those huge Government Houses, the sentries stationed at short intervals, *salaams* extending to the knees, big barracks for European soldiers, these are only a contrivance for exercising a spell over the people. The people look upon these with wonder-expanded eyes and foolishly imagine how very powerful is the British Sarkar. The English know that this ignorance on the part of the people is the foundation of their rule in India and hence try to perpetuate this ignorance by various means. The day that the people suspect that this house of cards cannot withstand even a single puff of the entire Indian people, that day will see the beginning of the end of British rule. But that suspicion has dawned upon the minds of the people at last. Is it for this that they are frisking so much.

The other day in the course of a conversation on the might of the British Sarkar, a high-placed Anglo-Indian official asked a native Raja what power the people of this country had to do anything against the English Government. The Raja said nothing in reply, but ordered one of his officers to bring a bucketful of black peas and a few white ones. He strewed the white peas on the black ones and began to stir the vessel. In a moment the white peas completely disappeared. The Raja showed this to the Anglo-Indian officer and said, “Thus are you situated in India. A few white creatures are lording it over the Indians.”

What, then, is the cause of the fact that “a few sentries and *paharawalas*” (watchmen, constables) have been for 150 years dazzling our eyes? The cause is no other than this, that we have no faith in our own power. How few are the Englishmen in this country compared with all the Indians. How few, again, are those traitors to their country who are in the pay of the English. The day that the people realise that the sole object of the foreigner in coming to this foreign land is to rob them of their morsel of food, that day will see the pulsation of new life in the moribund body of this vast nationality. Coming to this country like a beggar and wearing on his head the picked-up crown, the Englishman imagines that he has actually become the Emperor of India. This mistaken belief will vanish, nobody knows where, at the first pulsation of life in the body of the people. If the people refuse to acquiesce silently in their subjection, if they unite in withholding payment of the revenue and the taxes, then hundreds or thousands of Englishmen will not be able to put fetters round the feet of the Indian.

Those who, forgetful of their innate power, are still silently lying down, and are trying to persuade the people by a flourish of vain words that the time is not yet ripe, will remain in that indolent state for ever. But people whose ears have caught Freedom’s *mantra* have no time to keep silent any longer. They must make themselves ready and must give up all other work to fulfil their vow. The path of duty must be pointed out to those who have not yet understood the situation. Accompanied by those who have seen the path of duty, all must hasten to seek death.

Fear not. The symptoms of a reawakening after a swoon have manifested themselves after a long time. Do you not see that the Mother’s bitter cries have reached the abode of the gods? Brightening the laps of their mothers lakhs of armed forces, emanating from the gods, are being born on the sacred land for the purpose of re-establishing the kingdom of righteousness. The era of the *Gita* has come again in India. Those who are infants to-day will, in the imminent greater war of Kurukshetra, become heroes like Drona, Karna and Bhishma; they will propitiate the spirits of their forefathers with the blood of their hearts; they will bring life to the dead body by pouring nectar in streams. We are an immortal people. What then need we fear?

“JUGANTAR,” AUGUST 1907.

Prosecution of the “Jugantar.”

We face a revival of (Hindu) faith. The throne which you have picked up at Plassey will be swept away to the region where has been carried the Moghul throne.

"JUGANTAR," 12TH AUGUST 1907.

Shall we be able?—The strength in arms.

If, therefore, it is imperatively necessary for the subject-people to procure arms to bring about the destruction of the untruth in the shape of foreign rule, how they can be procured is the question which ought to be now considered. The procuring of arms is not such a serious matter that it cannot be accomplished if there be firmness and earnestness. The power to manufacture arms is not limited to any particular nation. Every nation can manufacture arms. Ten years ago no one could fancy that little Japan would acquire such mastery in the fearful and destructive art of European warfare, and defeat one of the most powerful of the western nations. Japan's skill in the use of western arms has, in fact, astounded everybody. It will be seen, therefore, that with a will and with effort everybody can manufacture arms. But the question is, how is it possible to procure arms for the purpose of destroying that very sovereign power under whose powerful domination one lives? Our answer is that in every country there are plenty of secret places where arms can be manufactured. With a little care and secrecy of purpose dust can be easily thrown in the eyes of the rulers and all necessary arrangements made. The very large number of bombs which have been and are being manufactured in Russia have all been manufactured in the secret factories of the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries have succeeded in manufacturing thousands of bombs and other firearms. It is not particularly difficult to manufacture or procure arms in a country which contains numberless mountains and forests. It is beyond the power of a sovereign, and particularly a foreign sovereign, to keep himself informed of what anybody is doing in a secret part of a vast country. After collecting all materials necessary for the manufacture of arms and weapons, the revolutionaries go into deep forests or secret places surrounded by mountains, and there devote themselves to high contemplation as to how to deliver the Mother from her bondage.

Besides manufacture, there are other means also of procuring arms. One of these means is the importation of arms from foreign countries. We know that western traders can do anything and everything for the sake of self-interest. When the Mad Mulla, for instance, was carrying on a fierce fight with the English, many of his troops were equipped with arms manufactured by English firms. Again, when the English were carrying on a war with the Afridis on the Indian frontier, many good English rifles were found in the possession of the latter. The truth is that the manufacturers of rifles cannot make such profits in any other way as they make by supplying arms to revolutionaries. The sale of millions of rifles at once brings no small profit. Big manufacturers of rifles cannot, in fact, carry on their business long, unless they can sell their wares in this fashion. Government have their own factories, and they have not therefore to purchase arms of others. No big concern can go on successfully if it has for its customers only a few private individuals. The rifle manufacturers have therefore to come to the help of revolutionaries. But great care has to be taken in importing arms in this way. Because, if the rulers once come to know of the affair, they will take precautionary measures, and the work of the revolutionaries will be retarded.

There is another very good means of acquiring strength in arms. Many people have observed in the Russian revolution that there are many partisans of the revolutionaries among the Czar's troops. These troops will join the revolutionaries with various arms. This method succeeded well during the French revolution. The revolutionaries have an additional advantage where the ruling power is a foreign power, because the latter has to recruit most of its troops from among the subject-people. Much work can be done by the revolutionaries very cautiously spreading the gospel of independence among these native troops. When the time arrives for a practical collision with the ruling power, the revolutionaries not only get these troops among their ranks, but also the arms with which the ruling power supplied them. Besides, all the enthusiasm and courage of the ruling power can be destroyed by exciting a serious alarm in its mind.

We have given above only a rough sketch of the means by which arms can be collected. Many other means may be adopted, considering the nature of the country, the time and the people concerned. Everything becomes possible to firmness and earnestness, which every day open up new paths.

"JUGANTAR," 19TH AUGUST 1907.

"Our hope."

The truth is that the mainstay of British supremacy in India is not the strength of the English but our own ignorance. The day on which we begin to realise that, even in our present fallen condition, the English are not superior to us in strength will see the commencement of the downfall of English rule. If only a few determined men can, by their example, implant this sentiment in the people's mind, then that high diadem of the English shall roll in the dust and this cherished Empire of theirs resolve itself into a nocturnal dream.

Hitherto we have dealt in words. But the time has at last come to prove our words by our actions. Now will begin the trial as to who is the stronger, as to who it is whom India will shelter in her lap.

"JUGANTAR," 19TH AUGUST 1907.

"Our Hope."

Is there not a single young man among the millions upon millions of youths in Bengal who has risen superior to the fear of death? Surely there is; only such men have not yet revealed themselves. O secret follower of the Mother's *mantra*, the day has come for you to shoot your death-dealing shaft! Show the few brutes, who, fired up with pride, stand in the way of your achieving your emancipation, that the Bengali will henceforward begin to take a life for a life given. Show them that it is not impossible to efface the foreigner's footprint from Bengal in a day. How many are the Englishmen in this country who in coming to plunder a foreign country do not fear death? It is useless counting days. Go forward step by step. The days of your "passive resistance" are drawing to a close. Only show the way, and thousands upon thousands of men will follow your lead. Prove yourself deserving of the Mother's blessing and protection by gratifying her lolling tongue. Those who read the *Jugantar* to-day should bear it in their mind that the *Jugantar* is not meant for perusal only; we are looking to every youth of Bengal to take up the worship of the Mother in this manner. It is with our eyes towards you that we are rushing forward on the path of death. It is you who are our hope.

There is not the least doubt that we shall not have to wait much longer. With divine eyes we see the goddess in her warlike attitude come and stand in the midst of her sons who are maddened with the fight. Look, the terrible sword, glowing with blood, is whirling. Look, the guerilla bands are swarming through the country; there, strengthened by the blessing of the Mother, they are plundering the arsenals; there their cries of victory maddening the sky are filling the enemy with alarm; there the vacant throne of the demon is being washed away by the waves of the Bay of Bengal.

O Mother, in the forms of Dasamahavidya (the ten incarnations of the goddess), how long will it take you to show yourself in that form?

"SANDHYA," 20TH AUGUST 1907.

The real significance of the activity in making arrests for sedition.

If mere thrust and parry with words makes it necessary for him to go to Goudalpara (a place resorted to for its famous remedy for hydrophobia), God alone knows where he will have to go when there is thrust and parry with bombs. We see clearly that the more there is of sedition in the country the greater is becoming the *Feringhi's* alarm. So long the wind of *swadeshi* and boycott only was blowing in the country. That wind became stronger reinforced by *swaraj*. It was as this stronger wind began to blow that the fire of sedition got ablaze. The more the *Feringhi* pokes that fire the more will it spread. In the end he will get bewildered in the midst of a circle of fire. The *Feringhi* realises this full well. Still he cannot help poking this fire, for he is as a moth intent on entering a fire. Who can resist the decrees of fate? There are many learned men among *Feringhis* in England, who have gained wisdom by the study of history. That is why the editors of the leading newspapers in England are turning up the whites of their eyes at the sight of the beginnings of this conflagration in India. They are not so weak in intellect as the *Feringhis* in this country. They know where a thing will end. That is why they are raising a wail. This hustle of sedition has driven the *Feringhi* to his wits' end. We are advocates of *swaraj*. We have girt up our loins to lay down this frame of dust in striving for *swaraj*. To us home and jail are all one. It is not therefore we but the *Feringhi* that has anything to fear.

"SANDHYA," 22ND AUGUST 1907.

"The Feringhi's counterfeit coin."

Are you a slave of the *Feringhi* Raja's creation? Do you want to be a tahsildar of his *khas taluk*?* An excellent proposition—Say, how many lakhs of rupees will you be able to add to the coffers of the *Feringhi Raj* by thrusting knives into the throats of the natives? Your remuneration will be in proportion to the amount of income you will be able to show.

"JUGANTAR," 26TH AUGUST 1907.

A Letter of Mad Yoga.

DEAR EDITOR,—I hear that copies of your paper are being sold by the thousand in the bazar. If at least fifteen thousand copies are distributed in the country, nearly sixty thousand people read them. I cannot withhold the temptation of telling a certain thing to these sixty thousand people and am therefore taking up my pen untimely.

I do not know whether you read the English newspapers or not, but I read them whenever I can procure them. No one is in the dark as to the reason why the country is being flooded with Mollas and detectives. The *Pioneer* frankly admitted that the Nawab of Dacca was in pecuniary difficulties solely because he had helped the Government in various ways. The *Englishman*, too, said that paid Mollas were sent to different parts of the county to preach loyalty.

* i.e., rent-collector on his estate.

However that may be, there is no reason to disbelieve the fact that the English have set Musalmans and detectives to dog the steps of people who have taken to serving their country. No one should be astonished at this, for a people so few in number cannot remain in this country without relying on some Indian community. The Englishman thinks that he will maintain his supremacy in India with the help of the Musalmans' life and blood and the intelligence of his spies. Alas, Musalman, how great has been your downfall! What a pity that the Musalmans of Bengal have at last spurned the noble saying of the *Hadish*, "*Habul Otne Minal aman*" (He who has live for his Motherland has faith in God).

I am mad and crack-brained and a sensation-monger. The cup of my delight becomes full when I see unrest descending in all directions like deep darkness. I cannot rest any longer. News of loot is reaching me from all quarters and I am dreaming as if the future guerilla bands were looting money and as if the future war of independence had commenced in the shape of petty *dacoities*. Hark, this is the time! Will Providence give another opportunity? The moment unrest makes its appearance in the country, it will be an opportune time to make oneself scarce. Look there, the *gundas* are rushing forward with the cry, "Beat the Hindu, beat the Hindu." The detectives (*lit.*, lizards) with warrants tied to their tails are creeping forward, uttering the sound "*tak, tak,*" to harass newspaper editors. O future bands of guerilla fighters, will you, too, not rush forward to accomplish your work by their side with the same cry of "beat the Hindu," or in the garb of the police? The opportunity is passing away. Somebody robbed money in the Silchar tea garden, the shop of *bilati* goods near *Sirajganj* has been looted, and the other day somebody stole 1,000 gold sovereigns from a railway train. And you are inert even to-day? The detectives and Gurkhas are running towards every district carrying the deep hint of Time. You resourceless devotees who aim at freedom, if you fail to understand the hint to-day, then the day will probably never again come. The news of looting and plundering is pouring in from all quarters, and I am talking in my dream. Alas, my ill-luck!

There is a saying, "Do as the times require." When unrest prevails in the country, the man who will not himself become restless will not endure. The Mollas said in the course of their speeches, "Ye famine-stricken people, go, procure food by plundering bazars, etc., without the least fear." The advice was not inopportune. There is no peace in India. Everywhere in India the engine of silent looting has been installed and that is what goes by the name of British rule. Loot is the order in this country nowadays. He who will loot shall get food. He who will not, will go to be ground in the mill, like the race of clerks, which will make him die out in two or three generations. O cultivator, it is in vain that you handle the plough; your ploughshare has not been dyed with Mother Lakshmi's vermilion. O artisan, it is in vain that you, too, labour; the atmosphere of the country has changed, for the bosom of the country is full of anarchy, there being only a show outside. Looting is the prevailing moral principle of the country and looting is the only calling. The Molla has pointed the right path and the famished people of Eastern Bengal certainly did what the times required them to do. But the common people will not follow the dictates of time in the same fashion as the *gundas* do. Nor will those serve their country. For the same eternal religion induces one to worship a piece of stone and makes another a *Yogi*.

O Plunder, I worship you to-day, be our helpmate. You so long hid yourself like a canker in a flower and ate away the country's substance. Come and again resuscitate the old Kshatriya (martial) spirit behind the public eye. O Plunder, it is forgetfulness of your glory that has brought us to our present miserable condition. You are in the beginning; you are in the end; and it is only in the middle stage that you vanish. Your shadowy form manifested itself to me on the day on which I was weeping at the sight of the disarmed Indians and of the Mother's misery. You made me the promise that day that, by your grace, the Indians, when they remembered and worshipped you, would get both the money to arm themselves and military training. That is why I worship you to-day. Come, the doors of the Bengali's heart to-day remain open for you. Come, make the inert active, and let the forests and gardens, rivers and mountains know you by following you, and let there be trained real sons of the Mother, who, renouncing all worldly cares, dwell in the *smashan* (cremation ground).

(To be sung to the Boul's tune.)*

What preparations have you made for that day,
On which will come the call, O son, and the Mother shall demand the sacrifices
of the *puja*?

By any means keep money in the village.

The Mother will go round from door to door secretly taking her *nalika*.†

Keep yourself acquainted with roads, etc.,

Count and set aside the goats to be sacrificed.

See that you do not find yourself in a confusion on that day.

Make your bosom strong by loot and plunder and other work.

Otherwise, your hand will tremble and you will fall flat on your back on taking
a gun in hand.

* A Boul is a wandering mendicant. The style of tune referred to is simple and can be sung by anyone.

† Tube, barrel of a pistol.

"SANDHYA," 31ST AUGUST 1907.

The arrest of the Manager of the "Sandhya."

They expect to suppress the *Sandhya*. But they do not know that after *Sandhya* (evening) comes *bhar-sandhya* (*lit.*, full evening; *colloq.*, nightfall). And when this nightfall comes, then will the squaring of the accounts with the *Feringhi* begin. When in the darkness of this nightfall *Visrambhar* (one of the names of *Vishnu*) sits on their shoulders with his weight on them, then will the *Feringhi* be made to throw out cries of "Save us! Save us!" The *sandhya* (evening) has not yet passed; as soon as ever it does, *bhar-sandhya* (nightfall will come).

"SANDHYA," 31ST AUGUST 1907.

The "Sandhya's" advice to its countrymen.

Referring to the statement in an Anglo-Indian newspaper to the effect that, in the scuffle with the police at Lall Bazar on the day on which the prosecution of the *Bande Mataram* newspaper was going on in the Police Court, the boys struck a European policeman with shoes, the journal says that such scenes of which only a beginning has been made, must occur oftener in future and the *Feringhi* must be given richer repasts than mere beating with shoes. The writer asks his countrymen to have in store materials sufficient for future use. The *Feringhi* guest must be sumptuously fed, or he will not be satisfied.

"JUGANTAR," 22ND SEPTEMBER 1907.

"The rise of the popular power."

The force that one day in a fierce aspect kindled the fire of revolution in France, tore asunder the ties of sovereignty and society which had lasted for centuries and infused a new life, and, like the fierce *Chhinnamasta* (a headless form of the goddess *Kali*), cut off its own head, drank its own blood and danced, having by its terrible laughter made all Europe tremble,—the time is coming when that force will rise up in India; to India, too, must be shown the play of that force which in Russia to-day has by its roar made the life of every oppressor full of alarm and uneasiness and which makes its appearance in every age, and, purifying the country with streams of blood, washes away the accumulated wrong and injustice of centuries.

"KALYANI," AGRAHAYAN 1314 (NOVEMBER 1907).

The hut was very neat and clean—(so much so) that even a speck of vermillion could at once be picked up from the floor. At one end was the figure of *Bhabani* seated on a small jewelled throne. There were evident signs that worship had just been finished. Pointing towards the walls of the cottage the youth asked: "What do you see?" I saw four pictures on the four walls. In one the Mother was seated on a jewelled seat, she had a smiling face and there were precious jewelled ornaments on her. Her children, *Pratap*, *Sitaram* and *Sivaji*, were offering red lotuses at the Mother's feet. Innumerable fields of crops, countless rivers and streams, extensive dreary tracts of land and vast forests showed the motherland to be well-watered, abounding in fruits and green with crop-laden fields. There was universal activity of work. The *raiya*t was filling his stores with grain. The artisan was engaged in the improvement of his art. On another side the white-haired *pandit*, old in wisdom and wearing the long *sikha* or tuft of hair on the head, was imparting knowledge to students in one corner of his rickety dwelling. Looking towards another picture I saw the children had disappeared. Those who were left were in deep slumber. A number of foreign *Mlechchhas* were tugging at the jewelled throne of the Mother, who in this helpless state was trying to awaken her sleeping children by her loud cries. I saw no further change.

The third picture was of a rather strange sort—on one side was the crying, despoiled, naked and haggard Mother sitting on the ground and thinking of her fate—on the other side the foreign *Mlechchhas* had occupied her jewelled throne, which they were divesting of its jewels. As far as the eye could see the cornfields were bare. The inoffensive artisans were dying under the oppression of the *Mlechchhas*, famine-stricken men and women were waiting for want of food, the ancient wisdom and glory, valour and prowess were being trodden under the foot of the robbers. My blood began to boil; with a firm grasp I laid hold of the sword of *Bhabani* lying by my side and sprang up. Pulling me by the skirt, the young man said: "Son, be quiet, be not maddened at the study of the past of India. Look steadily, you will find much more."

At the bidding of the young man I directed my eyes to the picture again. I saw that a stream of blood was flowing away. The Mother, devoid of ornaments, was trying to arouse the sleeping children, pointing all the while towards the bloody current. Tears rose to my eyes. I said: "O master, I cannot bear the sight any longer," and then turned my eyes to another direction.

This time the awakening of the child was represented. The rickety house of the child was lit up with the first rays of the sun from the east. With eyes still heavy with sleep the child looked about his house—Oh horror! The irresistible robbers had fled beyond the sea with the jewels. Looking beyond the blue deep I saw that the cruel robbers had fattened on the blood of the children and were laughing a horrible laugh. The weeping Mother was saying to the children assembled at her feet: "Sons, fear not; the sins have been expiated—depend on your own might, Destiny will come over to your side. Bear in mind that the unbounded prosperity, founded on the evil deeds of those who are daring to tread you cruelly down under their feet to-day, will vanish in a short time."

Looking upwards I saw another picture—one hidden behind a piece of cloth. Eagerly I asked: "What picture is this? May I not look at it?" The face of the young man lighted up with a strange light. A vibration was felt in every chord of the heart. With a pleased countenance the youth said: "This picture represents the future of India. What you are now witnessing in the field of the destiny of India is but a glimpse of the events that are to happen." I felt immense pleasure in anticipation of looking at the picture of India in the future. With extreme eagerness I asked: "Master, would you uncover the picture? I am very impatient."

The young man, giving timely consolation, said: "Sons, be not impatient—look here—see the figure of the Mother." Saying this the young ascetic, brilliant like a pencil of rays, uncovered the picture.

Looking, I saw currents of blood flowing from one end to another—the Mother was seated on the jewelled throne. The frightened and panic-stricken robbers were flying in all directions—thousands were being struck down with weapons. The children were worshipping the lotus feet of the Mother with red *Hibiscus* flowers. A shiver ran through my frame. I closed my eyes and cried out: "Master, how horrible is this! Is this the end of India?"

The young man replied: "No my son." I then turned my eyes, according to his direction, to another end of the picture. I saw that the foreign robbers had been driven out of the land. Three hundred millions of men had assembled under a vast awning. The blood stains had disappeared from the face of the earth. The world was full of crops, the trees bending down with loads of fruit. Thousands of boats laden with merchandise and steam vessels equipped for trade were dancing on the bosom of the Ganges. Unfurling sails or giving out steam, they were rushing hither and thither with the speed of stars. The sweet song of birds resounding in all directions was melting in the air. Thousands of men were hurrying about in the public thoroughfares on business. The Mother was seated on the jewelled throne. The young man with a smile said: "This is the end of India."

1908.

"SANDHYA," 19TH MARCH 1908.

"The Mother's call."

When Sivaji Maharaja sounded his triumphant drum, the Indians were not roused and did not respond. He established a Maratha empire, but none, neither Rajput nor Panjabi nor Hindustani nor Bengali, sounded the conch-shell at the news of his triumph. Rarely is seen (an example of) the spread of power like that of the Maratha nation. Nevertheless the Maratha empire did not prove lasting. Why? (Because) none responded to Sivaji's call. The armies which came after him had to behave like enemies towards their fellow-countrymen in the same way that they fought the Moghul and the Pathan. If Rajput, Panjabi and Hindusthani had all been roused by Sivaji's call, would India to-day have been in this sorry plight?

After Sivaji a call came once more. When the *Feringhis* occupied Bengal through perfidy and conspiracy, the *Santan Sampraday* (the Association of Sons) grew in power (*lit.*, rose). They were ascetics, the seat of their *guru* (preceptor) was in the Vindhya hills and their *mantra* (watchword) was *Bande Mataram*. But the call of the ascetics did not bring the Bengalis to their senses. Through the treachery of the Bengalis, the "Sons" met their doom.

Once again the call came. (It was) the call of the sepoys. You will say that that was not a call of the Mother. Say what you will, it was a grand attempt at becoming free. By that lion-like roar of the Sepoy War even, our country was not roused.

When Ranajit Singh hoisted his standard of the *khalsa*, even then the country was not roused, even then the country gave no response.

A consideration of these historical facts makes it quite clear, that, unless the country is roused, unless the country makes a response, the calls of heroes or any other preparations they may make, however immense, will not avail.

This time preparations and measures are in progress to ensure that the country is roused, that the country can make response, that so soon as the standard of *swaraj* is hoisted, the drum should sound from every Indian province.

This time the Mother has called in person, and at Her call a response is being made from all over the country. A powerful foreign rule has bound the whole of India. All Indians are together feeling the agony of this binding. The *Feringhis* regard us as a barbarous, incompetent, inferior race. They firmly believe that the people of India are inferior to them. Their administrative policy is based on this belief. And, thanks to this policy, steps have been taken everywhere in India to trample (Indians) under foot.

We are now experiencing the excruciating pain which a community which has reached the highest summit of civilisation feels on passing under the subjection of a semi-civilised, semi-barbarous race given to the indulgence of passions. But happily that pain has caused a tenderness in all limbs. From this it may be inferred that gradually sensation is being restored to the benumbed country. The more the conquerors by their conduct are showing us that we are a subject, trampled-down race, the more is our self-consciousness becoming keener. When the throbbing of the agony is felt in every bone and joint (of our bodies), when all India is tied in the thread of one agony, when a call at one extremity brings forth a response all over the land, it is then that some great man will come and sound his triumphant drum, and on all sides noise and battle will set in and none will sit unresponsive. According to the olden dispensation the great man first used to come and sound his call, while some used to respond and others did not, whereas by the new *swaraj* dispensation arrangements will first be made to get a response of pain from different parts of the country and then will extensive preparations be made for the establishment of *swaraj*.

Let a sensation of pain be awakened, let agony be felt, then will the country be roused, and listening to the Mother's call, will no longer remain unresponsive.

"SARATHI," BAISAKH 1315 (APRIL 1908).

Unless we can, like the god Indra, regain our territory, we shall have to rot in hell and the subterranean regions; India will be the sporting ground of ghosts and evil spirits and you and I, sons of Aryans, will continue, on the cremation ground of India, to be trampled and powdered like charcoal by the frantic dances of devils.

Unless you become devoted (heart and soul) to the worship of God and the service of your mother-country you will not attain success. Only by becoming so devoted will you be able to establish national glory by extirpating men who oppress your kinsmen, who are blinded by self-interest, who follow the ways of demons and who are given to committing outrages on others.

"SARATHI," JYAISTHA 1315 (MAY 1908).

Patriotism in the "Gita."

It was to accomplish this purpose that the Maratha hero Sivaji sought to re-establish Arvan predominance in India; guided by this same aim, Mohan Lal

and Mir Madan tried (*lit.*, took care) to keep the land of their birth free from the contamination of the touch of the *Feringhi*; it was with this aim that Leonidas with his handful of followers was seized with the mad desire (*lit.*, became mad) of damming the sea of the innumerable (*lit.*, unmeasurable) forces of Xerxes at the pass of Thermopylæ; it was to gain this end that Pym and Hampden fearlessly took their stand against Charles I's government and his policy of draining the land of money.

I do not know if I have been able to make my words clear. The sum of it is this—to try to establish peace and promote happiness by expelling, repressing or in case of necessity by killing the enemy of the country, the enemy of the peace of the country, the enemy of the welfare of the human race, is genuine patriotism.

“JUGANTAR,” 9TH MAY 1908.

“*Conspiracy or desire for freedom?*”

Nobody can take as a conspiracy the attempt against one who is not the king (but) a robber, a thief, a barbarian, an uncivilized person (and) an enemy of India. We have said this a hundred times (and) we shall say (it) a thousand times. This attempt at a war of independence which the people of India are making to-day, for this attempt Providence Himself cannot hold them guilty. Independence is the characteristic of the human race. Every man should attempt to gain independence: for this even Providence cannot punish him. The English are demons (and) hence they are thwarting these intelligent persons in the performance of that meritorious act. We really want independence. India is not the Englishman's paternal property. The Englishman is nobody to this country. The thirty crores of the people of India ought for the good of entire mankind to destroy him immediately like Ravana's dynasty. People of India, beware! Do not call this a conspiracy.

* * * * *

“*Who is the rebel?*”

Numerous highly respectable Bengalis have been arrested by the English, and have not been let out on bail. Inhuman oppression is being committed on Arabinda Ghosh and the other prisoners. Are they rebels, or conspirators? None of them are rebels. They are entitled according to the very canons of justice to rise against the English. The English are strong and they are weak, that is why they are entitled to collect arms in secrecy. It is with secrecy that arms have to be collected in order to kill an enemy. For this reason these men are not rebels and cannot be arrested as conspirators. They are enemies of the English, it is true; but the English are not the rulers of India, they are India's foemen. Anything that may be done to kill such a foeman is consistent with *dharma*. Indians, be careful, do not mock these men as rebels or conspirators.

* * * * *

“*Who is the murderer?*”

Srijukta Khudiram Bose, and the late Dinesh Chandra Ray *alias* Prafulla Chaki, went only to punish Mr. Kingsford. The Indian advocates of salvation judged that it was well that Mr. Kingsford should die. Hence it was that Khudiram tried to kill him. Why should they be (called) murderers? In that case are not the English murderers of Nanda Kumar? Khudiram is not a murderer. He is under providential dispensation the punisher of Mr. Kingsford. Then even if (the attempt) has failed this time (Mr. Kingsford) is sure to suffer this punishment in future. But under the Englishman's administration of the law Khudiram may perhaps be hanged. Yet let Indians remember that (though) one Khudiram may die and (though) Dinesh is dead, crores and crores of Khudirams and Dinesh Chandras are standing with uplifted arms in order to punish the oppressor. Will not the rope used to hang them be thrown round (other people's necks)?

“JUGANTAR,” 30TH MAY 1908.

The Bengali's Bomb.

Bengali boys have learnt to manufacture bombs, but they have not learnt to throw them well. It is because they have not yet been able to take good aim and to hit the mark that in the Muzaffarpur accident they have killed other persons than him whom they had intended to kill. It is only because their hands were not trained (to the task) and their heads were not in a proper condition that two innocent ladies have had to die.

The Government Inspector of Explosives has been amazed at the Bengali's skill in the manufacture of bombs. It is his opinion that explosive firearms have taken a terrible form in the Bengali's hands. There is no doubt that the explosion of the bombs would smash to dust an area two hundred yards in extent. It is also a matter

of great wonder that no sort of accident took place during the manufacture of these terrible firearms. How many machines and factories of England with their coolies and labourers are blown away while bombs are manufactured! Ah! sitting in some obscure solitary place, the "rice-eating" Bengali has with the help of two or three ordinary implements accomplished this task, requiring extensive preparations and beset with numerous dangers. It is beyond the vision of the secret spies of the Feringhi Sarkar to see where in some solitary room in the kitchen, brothers, sisters, mothers, daughters, together can make and are making bombs. Even the extensive machinery and factories in England have to own themselves beaten as to the way in which the Bengali can manufacture bombs, guns and cartridges. Let the unostentatious preparations for this great revolution be silently made and collected in every house. A handful of policemen and English soldiers will not be able to find them out. They will not be able to keep this extensive preparation for a great Kurukshetra in check by obstructing it. The inclination for making this preparation is due to the spirit of the age; it is a law of nature; it is the unobstructed awakening of the instinct of self-preservation of a sleeping race, persecuted, despised, and trampled under foot for a long time.

Two or four boys have been arrested to-day. Although Hem Chandra, Ullaskar and others will never more be united with us in the field of action—we know indeed that they will never escape from the grim jaws of the English—thousands and thousands of Hem Chandras and Ullaskars have come up again and are standing in front. Hence there is no reason to despair. The soil of India is ever fertile with the blood of heroes. There will never be a lack of heroes in India, the progenitor of heroes. There is never a want of workers in the field of action which has given birth to Vedic lore. What is now wanted, is zeal, courage and life. Money will not be wanting. Do not be afraid because you are destitute. Be prepared for death. Advance slowly with a firm determination. Enormous wealth, fame and glory have been collected for you. You shall surely be able to master the divine art of killing Asuras (demons).

Your momentary awakening, your startled looks alone have shaken the enemy's heart. Terror and wailings have filled the skies. Under the momentary cover of the curtain, and at the first playing of the concert the hearts of the audience have danced in joy. The real play has not indeed begun yet.

Therefore get to understand what is to be done now. Understand it well and leap into the sea of action.

"BANDE MATARAM," 12TH SEPTEMBER 1908.

"Traitor in the camp."

From Jaychand to Umichand is a far cry, but the political history of our country for all those long centuries of indelible shame can be summarised and accounted for in the four short words "Traitor in the camp." Reading down the pages of the annals of that interminable period of disgrace, you will hardly come across the account of a single movement towards emancipation that has not nursed in its bosom one or more vipers named "traitors" who, whilst remaining within the camp in the seeming guise of loyal adherence, betrayed the object of their perjured allegiance at the season of fruition. But need we stop at Umichand? Are there not traitors in the land to-day, who would sell their soul as readily for the paltry privilege of wearing a jewelled sabre or for a ribbon to stick in their coat, or for a title to cover their base birth with? For it is in the blood of some of our countrymen this accursed proneness to perfidy, and has been there ever since the loss of our independence, and Heaven alone knows when the last drop of it shall have been spilled or become sterile. And the no less singular feature of this ghastly thing is that through all these countless years it is always the person at whose instance he turned traitor who has punished the miserable miscreant, but the country could never find a single son to rise and avenge her on the hated monster by smiting him to the ground. Now, for the first time, the current is turned. For the very first time a cause has produced a votary who has willingly sacrificed his life to visit on its betrayer his merited doom. Kanai has killed Narendra. No more shall the wretch of an Indian who kisses away the hands of his comrades reckon himself safe from the avenging hand. The first of the avenger's history shall write of Kanai, and from the moment he fired the fatal shot the spaces of his country's Heaven have been ringing with the echo of the voice, "Beware of the traitor's fate."

Yet the crowning pity of it is that such a splendid life should have to be thrown away in the course of this bomb affair. "Bombs can never bring independence," said Barindra Kumar Ghose, in his confession before the Magistrate of Alipore, and truly enough. And it was at a very unluckily and inauspicious moment that he and those he names mistook the voice of the misguided few calling for the blood of an official or two to be the voice of the nation. The removal of a few servants of the bureaucracy cannot even touch the fringe of the problem of national deliverance, and one cannot resist a tear at the thought that there has to be immolated on the altar of an undertaking so fated to fruitlessness—such invincibility of spirit—that same passionate immortal scorn of death that showed itself in Asia after a long interval at Kin-Chau the other day."

“NABYA BHARAT,” ASWIN 1315 B.S. (OCTOBER 1908).

Should that work, which is (lightly) punished in their country, be met with capital sentence in our country? Such men as are called Garibaldi and Mazzini in their country, are known as Nana Saheb and Kumar Singh in our country, and the works they did are known as Sepoy Mutiny. Why should those works, that are considered pious and praiseworthy in their country, be blamed in our country?

“HOWRAH HITAISHI,” 3RD OCTOBER 1908.

Invocation to the goddess Durga.

India is still clad in dirty tatters. Her crown of prosperity still rolls at the feet of foreigners. The flowers that grace her head are trampled by foreigners, her uncared-for hair rolls at the feet of foreigners. Iron rails cover her body and foreign trade bleeds her incessantly. The sighs and lamentations of crores of hungry and thirsty people are still wringing the country's heart.

Come, O Mother, and assuming that terrible form of yours, strike terror into the hearts of wicked foes. Take up the 10 weapons in your 10 hands and dispel all fear from your children's minds.

APPENDIX B 2.

EXTRACTS FROM REVOLUTIONARY LEAFLETS.

Several series of leaflets can be traced, as follows.

1. The "Jugantar" series of eight leaflets (not to be confused with the "Jugantar" newspaper, though the tone was much the same).—These appeared between July 1908 and February 1909, that is to say, in the year succeeding the Kennedy murder. They are largely devoted to extolling the authors of that crime and of the murder of Naren Gosain, which was connected with it. They are many of them very lengthy. The following extracts speak for themselves:—

"JUGANTAR."*

18th July 1908.

The time for making the pen do work has gone. Take shelter now under manliness. There are yet a good number of factories for bombs in the country. Take part with them. Loot mails (as dacoits) and make the great *mantra Bande Mataram* (i.e., salutation to the mother) effective by forming secret bands of workers.

"JUGANTAR."*

28th July 1908.

This time, it is to be written on the breast of the loathed British Bureaucracy in letters of blood by the mighty strokes of the sword of the sturdy sons of Bengal. The murder of important officers will deliver the message of the *Jugantar* with the speed of lightning flash from one corner to another. The murder of English Devils is the incarnation of the *Jugantar*, and an insurrection would be its vivid personification.

AN APPEAL.*

Ye brave sons of heroic Hindustan, does it befit you to be silent at the frowns of the most wretched John Bull! They are to be mercilessly trampled under foot. How many are they? To kill a District Magistrate, a revolver, nay even a dagger, is sufficient. Do not falter; march on; nothing will be wanting. You care for money? You will get plenty by looting post offices and treasuries, whereby the Government also will be paralysed. You want the Scientific Bengali instruments for killing the English Devils; yes, here it is in a nut-shell.

(A full explanation of the manufacture of bombs follows.)

"JUGANTAR."*

20th August 1908.

The administrative machinery of the English can be shattered to atoms only with the help of bombs. One day, all of a sudden, make arrangements for the coffins of the English residents of Tinnevely through the help of bombs. Another day, re-enact the Cawnpur massacre of 1857 at Dibrugarh; make arrangements for a gorgeously decorated cemetery by (killing) Davar to-morrow, Denzil Ibbetson another day, Norton, Birley, Fraser, Halliday & Co. a third day, and Clarke, Emerson, Kemp a fourth day. The raving English dogs will fidget about with their huge magazines of Maxim, Krupp, Martini guns; they will, like hopeless rabid animals, begin to drench the earth with the blood of innocent persons (for they will not be able to track the real assassins). The shedding of innocent blood will bring down upon their heads the infuriated curse of the Almighty from above like bolts of thunder.

"JUGANTAR."*

14th September 1908.

But it is not only this message that you have delivered unto us, Martyrs Khudiram, Birendra, Praphulla, Ullas, Hem! while breaking off the moral hallucination of impotency that held the nation in chains, you have marked out by the fiery vividness of your blood even the path to the promised land. You are at once a philosophy and its application, an ideal and its realisation. When you were asked in the court of the tyrant, you uttered words which rushed reverberating like a thunder clap into the whispering galleries of the world. Tearing themselves away from the embrace of their loving wives and new-born babes, burning up the whole self on the altar of the Mother, taking upon themselves vows of monastic life, robed in the *sanyasi* garb chanting the sublime

* Translation from Bengali.

Upanishads, these young souls, this sacred pilgrimage, proceeded to the Maniktala gardens with the bomb in the one and the *Gita* in the other hand! What for? "to win back the *Swaraj* of India!" To expiate a nation's sin they offered their youthful blood and determined to "organize secret societies, to gather arms, to prepare the revolution, and when the auspicious moment comes, to rise and smash the *Feringhi* dead!"

Then let Hem fulfil his mission and "gather arms." If swords are denied, let daggers dash, and if guns are prohibited, let bombs boom. Mark, ye martyrs, mark well this wretch Kingsford flying from Calcutta! follow Khudiram, follow Praphulla, follow that renegade fast! fast is he pursued, thunders forth the bomb, the renegade escapes, but the blood is shed and the attempt is well made! Better still is here this other scene—Praphulla, chased by howling treachery, is making his last stand; his pistol, firm and terrible, points first at the traitor and then at his own breast and before the young soul is polluted by the touch of the tyrant, the bullet is off and down rolls in a red pool of rushing blood this young angelic Praphulla!—while Khudiram stands in the prison as fresh as a morning rose and as bold as Abhimanyu of old. He is asked, "Are you sorry for what you have done?" He answers, "Not a bit. If you let me go, I shall do the same thing again." The death sentence is pronounced, and it is inquired of him, "Are you afraid of death?" Smiles he, "Why? have I not read *Gita*?"

"JUGANTAR."*

30th November 1908.

The English are inventing the Crimes Act to cause your destruction. They won't listen to the (established) laws; they are inventing means by which they will hang the entire population of Bengal, without any (show of) trial; and are making full preparation to ruin your *zenana* ladies with the punitive police. What are our duties now?

Let the enemy get a fitting retribution for their action, and let all Bengal be flooded with the enemy's blood before they have caused your ruin. Behold, there in the sky is standing your mother-land (*swadesh*) with PRAPHULLA AND KHUDIRAM, AND KANAI AND SATYEN on her lap and saying by signs:—"This is your duty. Come, come."

REVENGE! REVENGE! REVENGE!

"JUGANTAR."*

2nd December 1908.

Who is the coward who will remain inert on hearing the chantings of the sacred *mantras* of a preliminary worship that are being sung to-day in India?

The auspicious moment of the preliminary worship is come. Do not waste your time any more. Awake, my countrymen. Shake off your impotency and engage yourselves in preparation for worshipping your Mother. Come, ye, all youths seeking for independence, and let us complete the worship of the Mother, in attempting the preliminaries of which our dearest brothers Praphulla, Khudiram, Kanai and Satyen laid down their lives, and let us thus secure the satisfaction of the all-powerful Mother.

Have you no strength of mind? No aim in life? Will you idle away your time with a crown of darkness on your head? Come, ye the sons of India, leaving aside your lust, wealth, luxury, and worldly love, and let us proceed to worship the Mother and complete the work of those who have sacrificed their lives in offering bunches of red flowers sprinkled with blood at the feet of the Mother.

Have you not the aspiration in your heart to secure that immortality? If so, do not get disheartened at your small failures, but kill the brutes who come and stand in the way of your salvation and thus satisfy your Mother. Do not be sorry for your abortive attempt on the life of the Lieutenant-Governor at the Overtoun Hall. There are many Lieutenant-Governors and others. One Lieutenant-Governor will go and another will come. Cox, Carnduff, and Kingsford are still alive. All these have to be killed. Cause fright among the *Feringhis* by your war dance. Get ready for a recurrence of the *Naramedha Jajna* (human sacrifice) in India.

"JUGANTAR."*

20th February 1909.

Open your eyes and behold! I am before you, fearlessly dancing with a naked sword besmeared with the blood of Khudiram, Praphulla, Satyendra, and Kanai asking for fresh sacrifices to quench the mother's thirst for blood. Open your eyes and behold! I am before you, clad in the *Gairik* garb of a new *sanyast*, bathed in the hot blood of Serajuddaula and besmeared with the ashes of the unrealized hope of hopes of Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi, a steadfast *jogi* begging from door to door for sacrifices for the Mother. Open your eyes and behold! I am before you holding the keen and unsheathed sword of Kasim Ali in hand, and begging for fresh sacrifices for the Mother from door to door throughout India—the everlasting, the pure, the wakeful, and the free India.

* Translation from Bengali.

2. The "Swadhin Bharat or Independent India" leaflets.—These appeared between February 1911 and February 1917, but not at a constant rate. The following are extracts from this series:—

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."*

20th March 1911.

See how the doings of a few hundred young men have caused the hearts of the *Feringhi* to tremble, paralysed his administrative machinery, and crippled his (financial) resources. Let bands of young men avail themselves of this opportunity to further the work of the band of *Santans* (the children). Set about the destruction of the race of your enemies, and lay the foundation of *Swaraj*. . . . O, women (*lit.*, goddesses of wealth) of Bengal, we have a prayer to you also. Will you not be able each to sacrifice one heroic son to deliver the country from the hands of giants in the shape of *Feringhis* like that heroic lady, Kunti, the mother of heroes, whom you think of every morning at the moment of leaving your beds? Will you not be able to say like her—

"O Brahmin, I have five sons. One of them will go to that vile demon with presents on thy behalf." . . . Come and let us to-day avenge the severance of the head of the deceased boy Praphulla Chaki by killing the race of the *Feringhis*,—by causing the land of Bengal to be overflowed by streams of the *Feringhis'* blood. Come and let us to-day propitiate the ghosts of Khudiram, Kanailal, Charu Chandra and Birendra, by filling the joined palms of our hands with the blood of the *Feringhis* and offering it as an oblation.

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."*

18th April 1911

and

3rd May 1914.

Course of action.

We will not at present disclose to the public the secrets of the course of action we have decided upon, by discussing at length the means that should be adopted for attainment of freedom. Roughly speaking, however, we shall not succeed in attaining freedom without a revolutionary attempt. Never without bloodshed, has any subject nation recovered the jewel of its lost freedom from the conquering race. . . .

Means of bringing about a revolution.

Resources of men and money are needed to bring about the revolution which is decided to be the course of our action for the attainment of freedom for the motherland. The spread of secret societies everywhere in India is necessary. Men of intellect and of action are needed—men who can abnegate their interests, who are devoted to religion, who are fearless and of good moral character. By the unique combination of both, it is but just and proper that a larger number of revolutionary societies should be established at every central place in India. . . .

Chief obstacle in the way of revolution.

It is our countrymen who have murdered their mother, turned traitors to the country and disgraced our stock that are the chief obstacles. They are to be destroyed first of all if the path of revolution is to be made free from thorns. This is our first and foremost duty at present. Even the murder of so many *Kulangars* (those who are a disgrace to the stock), such as Naren Gosain, Ashutosh, Nandalal, Lalkaka, Shams-ul-alam and Srish Chandra, has not altered the attitude (*lit.*, turned the course) of the perfidious spies. We are, therefore, inevitably driven to assume the rôle of destroyers. It is necessary that these treacherous dogs should ere long be made to expiate their sins.

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."*

13th September 1911.

There the *santans* (children) who have been initiated into the mystic formulæ, embracing the flames of the sacrificial fire like the sons of *rishis* (seers), who have been purified by ablutions, are fearlessly leading in front of our victorious army; there Charu Chandra, Khudiram and Biren gave their bones (to supply material) for the manufacture of the thunderbolt which is to kill the demons; there Satyendra, Kanai, Praphulla, and Madan dedicated themselves one after another at the feet of the Mother like hallowed offerings of flowers besmeared with sandal paste; there the hot sighs of Ullas, Barindra, Upendra, and Hem across the vast expanse of the distant sea, is striking uselessly against the stone walls of the solitary prison chambers. . . . We shall not be satisfied even if the partition is reversed. We shall not desist even if Barindra and Upendra are set free by the mercy of the king, or if Praphulla and Kanai return (to life), pushing aside the ashes of the cremation ground,

yet we shall not desist. So long as our own religion is not established, and so long as a single fellow who cherishes spite against religion remains alive, our activities will have no cessation—will know no respite nor death.

“CHANGE OF EPOCH, OR INDEPENDENT INDIA.”*

13th September 1911.

Brother, I say again be ready to-day. Come, come brothers, the time is propitious. The combination of stars and planets is favourable and shows that the opportune moment has arrived. Drive out the foreign merchants, make them suffer hunger and thirst, and the pirates will be driven out. Brothers, we are strengthened with divine strength. Had we not His will and favour we could not have advanced so far. Come brothers, let us unite and purify the motherland with the blood of the enemy. Swords wet with the hearts' blood of the enemy, numerous heads of the enemy, these are necessary for the satisfaction and adoration of the Mother Cow or Motherland.

“SWADHIN KARMAKSHETRA—BHARAT (THE ARENA OF FREE ACTION—INDIA).”*

28th October 1911.

Again have you fallen asleep? Open your eyes and look: I am standing at the door. This is not the time to enjoy rest. Behold, before you lies stretched the awful arena of action. . . . Let freedom, the powerful *mantra* of the new age, pierce the hearts of the slumbering people in India. Be initiated into the cult of death. Sleep no more. Arise and rouse (others). There can be no fear. Let the everlasting deep sighs of Birendra, Kanai, Khudiram, Hem and Charu Chandra send a tremor through your hearts. Bearing in our breasts the *mantra* of establishing freedom and swarajya (self-government) and being endowed with strength in the name of God, come let us advance. Just as one drop of blood,—so we hear in this world,—begets a hundred blood-germs, so a hundred sons, the very incarnation of heroes, will come out of all the drops of blood that have this time dropped in the name of India and for the work of India.”

“SWADHIN BHARAT.”*

9th November 1911.

From an unknown quarter came the gods holding lamps in their hands—the hero Arabinda, the very incarnation of self-sacrifice and the high priest of the invocation ceremony, dropped into Bengal like a luminous meteor. Blood bounded in the veins of the Bengalis. How fearful and furious were the freaks of this Mahasakti of Eastern Bengal! What manliness was aroused the other day in West Bengal! The foremost sons of the Mother were offered as sacrifices in that great *pūja*. The Mother was shouting: “To-day I am afflicted with hunger.” How many heroic sons, how many young lions poured forth their life-blood to appease the terrible hunger of the Mother! The world looked up in wonder, to see who were they. On that day, from their seat in the heavens, Pratap, Sivaji, Guru Govinda, Pratapaditya, Naga Sahib and Tantia cast their gaze towards Bengal in eagerness and exaltation. . . . But brothers, do not despair. The self-denial of Arabinda, the sacrifice of life by Kanai, Praphulla and others, the fearless and whole-hearted patriotism of heroes like Barindra and others can never prove fruitless. No one should despair of the future of a country where Kanai and Satyen have been born, which begot Arabinda, which is the mother of great men like Praphulla, Khudiram, Ullas and others, which once danced at the sounding of trumpets by “*Jugantar*.” Everyone has now realised that it is because we have not so far made any strenuous exertions for the worship of the Mother that success is remote.

“SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA).”*

24th December 1911.

Hark! the kettle-drums are beating their rejoicings beyond measure at the prospect that the holy efforts of Sivaji, Guru Govinda, Pratap Singh, and Pratapaditya would be crowned with success. Do you know that Praphulla, Kanai, and Birendra offered their lives to you? Do you not know that Biren, Ullas, and others are looking to you only from their far-off places of deportation? Shaking off delusive slumber, come, once come, and see to what work the *santans* have addressed themselves. Come, O youths of Bengal, burning with the desire for freeing the mother from bondage, inspired with fresh zeal, begin the work on a new plan. You will see that ere long the throne of the foreigners will be reduced to particles of dust (*lit.*, mix with the dust).

* Translation from Bengali.

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."

18th September 1912.

Come, come, hearty workers, ye younger men, the future hope of golden India, come running on, true sons of the mother. Hear the sounding of the war drums of Pratap. See, the souls of Khudiram, Praphulla, and Satyen are looking towards you with wistful eyes. There is no more delay. The festival of blood is nigh. Hear the resounding of the trumpets of Victory. Hear, the notes of Independence are being sung, resounding through the mountains and caves. See also the bloody sword of the mother shining with thirst for the blood of the enemies. Come, son of India; come, worker for *Jugantar*; come to offer your life's blood on the red feet of the mother.

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."

January 1913.

Saying this, all close your fists in a grip like adamant, in order; by your combined strength, to kill the *Feringhi*, to destroy the *mlechchha*, who is the very embodiment of the thief, the robber, the demon and the ghoul. And first of all, exterminate those thorns, those policemen and detectives, a disgrace to your race, who would put obstacles in the way of the celebration of this auspicious sacrifice—namely, this destruction of demons; clear your path by making away with those demons in human shape by means of assassination. Upon the unarmed and subject Indians the greatly sacred vow of assassination is specially binding. Who is there so foolish as to be ready to offer up his life in open battle under the shot and shell of their rifles and cannon to that cowardly *mlechchha*, boorish race, who, not to speak of depriving the Indians of their arms, have even taken away the *lathi* from the hands of children who are fed on milk? It is only heinous sinners who call sinners the boys who, striving for independence, have done deeds of great merit in committing assassinations. If they were sinners the men who conceal dynamite in the depths of the sea to destroy ships of war therewith also must be held to be acting most sinfully. Where is the civilised nation then—England, France, Russia or Japan—which is not guilty of that sin? Is it that they are powerful and therefore they must be held to be meritorious and that, as we are weak, so we must be held sinful? The day is not far off when it will be said: "Praise to that son of India, praise to that boy, as a result of whose assassinations we have regained our freedom."

Therefore, O Indians, know for certain that if you are born, die you must. Who is there who has ever been immortal anywhere or in any time? Die you must some day. Every year, in this province of Bengal alone, 23 or 24 lakhs of men die. At this rate, every year about a crore of men die in (all) India. Say now if these men, instead of dying of plague, cholera and famine, had died after each of them had killed at least one *Feringhi*, would there be seen in the country even a single hair of the *Feringhi's* (head)? That is why we say, since die we must, let us come forward, brethren, and die after all of us have combined to kill the fierce robbers—the *Feringhi* boors. The death which brings imperishable fame in this world and paradise in the next,—who calls such a death death?

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."

15th February 1913.

Remember that in these seven years we have triumphed over death, have become used to labour, and learnt to be patient like the Himalayas. Heroic† lovers of the country

† The word in the original may also mean „lovers of the heroes.“
 Kanai, Khudiram, Satyen, Praphulla, Charu and Biren, died before us (*lit.*, cheated us) before our very eyes (*lit.*, over our breast); they have attained immortality in the higher regions and are thereby keeping awake our spirit of attachment to duty. Pulin, Barin, Upen and Ullaskar, dearer than life, are (suffering transportation) to an island across the seas; Hem Chandra, the boy Nani, and Jiten are in prison. . . . yet we are not languid, we are not afraid, we are going onward. The sun of freedom will rise on India, which is holy and is a place of pilgrimage. How will it do so if ignorance and delusion are allowed to persist?

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."

2nd March 1913.

What was the encouragement which bore Pulin Bihari up when he was rushing forward inch by inch towards the jaws of death? What was that for which Arabinda, Barin, Upen, Ullaskar, Indu, Hem Chandra, Abinash, Bhupendra Nath and others offered up their lives? Brother, do you even now feel so much attachment for life? And even if you be attached to life, how can that save you? What is the good of existing on earth in a state of death in life? . . . Is it not better a hundred times to offer up one's life for the Mother's sake of one's own accord than to perish under the oppression of the assailant? . . .

I am Khudiram's soul, I am come in your midst. People of Bengal, people of India, seize the sword and equip yourselves. By strength derived from Him Who is Conqueror over conquerors, Who is King over Kings, I offered myself as a sacrifice, and it is by His command that I come now. Let those who are asleep awake, let those who are idle get up, let those who are timid run without any pretext. I am Khudiram's soul, I am come in your midst. Do you know who imparted to Kanai's fame the strength of ten thousand infuriated elephants, who gave him amidst the iron bars of the prison, which even the air cannot penetrate, that pistol? Does the *Feringhi* Government know who enmeshed its beloved babbler (*lit.*, parrot)? All these were really my pranks, all these were really my doings. To all other noble dedicated souls like Kanai's I have given pistols and shot and presented them with weapons. Praphulla is coming back as captain of a ghostly body of soldiers. Ere long, strange things will be happening, when the ship carrying the ghosts casts anchor on the *ghat*. (Chorus)
 We are free, we are (of) subtle (consistency), we come and go away borne on the wind, we guide patriots along the proper path and create trouble for our enemies (*lit.*, make our enemies possessed of evil spirits). We shall put an "ass's cap" on the heads of all Umi Chands and Mir Jafars.

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."*

6th March 1913.

Nowhere else than in India do we meet with such deluded, worthless creatures as those who want to see India prosper while continuing under British rule. To-day we hear from some lips an interpretation of *swaraj* something new and different from that which we heard from the same lips during the early stages of the *swadeshi* era. It will not be necessary to explain in detail to an intelligent man that the reason for this is nothing but fear. So it is our fixed idea that those youths of Bengal who strive for independence should shun as spittle these curious creatures who seek to keep themselves in the good graces of both parties, who in order to make themselves known as leaders, vociferate on public platforms or write unmeaning nonsense in the newspapers under the influence of long-continued habit. What these men say makes no difference to us at all; we know our country. . . . When the first bomb burst at Narayangarh in order to kill Sir Andrew, who was blinded by arrogance, the foolish English thought that it was the work of a handful of Bengali youths dissatisfied at the partition of Bengal. In making a succession of vain efforts to destroy certain high-souled patriots connected with the *Jugantar*, the organ of the cult of freedom, the English by fraud, force and trickery managed to transport these honest-hearted and high-souled men. When coming to know of the weakness of Narendra, who, roused by a new impulse, had lost his self-control, our crooked-minded merchant-rulers were preparing to hurl a terrible thunderbolt upon the whole country, and when the great hero Kanailal, after having achieved success in the effort to acquire strength, in order to give an exhibition of India's unexpected strength, wielding the terrible thunderbolt of the great magician, and making every chamber in the Alipur Jail quake, drew blood from the breast of the traitor to his country, safe in a British prison, in iron chains, surrounded by the walls of a prison, then indeed the English realised that the flame which had been lit in Bengal had at its roots a wonderful strength in store. It was in astonishment at the sight of the superhuman deeds done successively by the "sons" that George V at the Delhi Durbar last year inaugurated certain measures of hopeful augury for the welfare of India; and this also we make bold to affirm, that as a result of these some amount of change in the political condition of India has resulted. . . . One can easily understand what is our duty under the circumstances. It will not do simply to roam about the streets with the object of strengthening our party. It will not do to be anxious from now about men and money and arms to prepare for the distant and unknown future when we are to confront the English in open battle. We know and we admit that these constitute part of our work and that it is these which constitute the final goal of our activities, but they are not the initial steps.

"SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA)."*

10th September 1913.

There is no more time to be lost. Let us see you making for once an effort for independence, forgetting past weakness and laying your head at the Mother's feet. What you see impossible to-day will become possible. All your difficulties will be solved if you acquire this heavenly independence. Do you not know that the wind which turns all trees into sandal trees is this INDEPENDENCE? Let this wind blow for once, blow for once, crushing all degradation, removing all distress, and carrying the Mother's blessing to every house, woodland, river-bank, and mountain-top in India. You will then see that the cripple will cross a mountain, the hunchback will stand straight, the dumb will cry. "Mother, mother," the ignorant will become learned, the sensuous will become celibate, and malice will turn into sympathy.

“SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA).”*

10th December 1914.

“Sound ye the blowing horn! Sound the cry,
All are independent in this wide world,
All are awake with the glory of honour,
India alone remains asleep.”

Something like a violent high wave is flowing this time over the breast of this whole universe. All are eager for war—all are standing upright with naked swords in their hands for the preservation of the honour and glory of their own respective nations and for the advancement of the motherland. All the nations are making their best endeavours to preserve their own respect. A terrific war has appeared in Europe this time. Why is Europe alone? A violent high wind of war has spread over the breast of the whole universe. It seems that Germany has caused the whole universe to tremble with gigantic valour.

“Happiness and misery change like a wheel.”

It seems this time that the moon of the happiness of India is full—that the Goddess of Fortune (of India) is highly favourable as a result of the sharp conflict. It seems that the path of deliverance of Mother India from the formidable jaws of the white-skinned people is opened this time.

“SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA).”*

March 1915.

The fire that is raging in the great Kurukshetra of Europe will consume the entire force of the West. The goddess of Fortune will put the bright mark of fame and glory on the high forehead of the East. The tide has turned and there is none who can stand against it.

We shall speak about you later on. We want Independence. Poets, men of letters, pleaders, doctors, clerks, traders—even the secret police—cannot refute this. The difficulty is about the means to be adopted. Let us now see which method, if adopted, will make us fit for getting independence.

To attain independence we must form our character in a new way. First, the character of the youths of our country should be such that they think of death as a mere play—they are eager to accomplish cheerfully any dangerous act. Secondly, thousands of youths should act in unison under the direction of one leader—they must not entertain any low idea, but shall perform their duty standing on the play-ground of death with a liberal and free mind.

Organisations that are necessary in order that we may be able to act in the way mentioned above are utterly impossible in the present state of things. All the efforts of Barindra, Pulin Das and others in this direction have failed, but the experience they have left us is invaluable. We shall always be ready to kill the enemy—no matter how great he may be or within whatever impregnable fortress he may conceal himself—we will hang his head round the neck of the goddess Kali.

Lastly, Oh India, shake off your sleep of infatuation. You lament at the murder of a single man: cast a look on these from whose teachings you have obtained this divine knowledge and keep silent hereafter. We are devoting ourselves for the culture of force. Human sacrifices there will be, not one but thousands. Oh youths of the country, be united. We want independence. We want freedom.

“SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA).”*

23rd June 1915.

The day is coming when crores of sons of India will face the English armed on the field of battle—for the fulfilment of that end we remain busily engaged. Oh! sons of Kubera of our country if you unlock your hidden treasures before us like Mahendra Singha, then we will give up dacoities and robberies. But you are passing your happy days sunk neck-deep in the muddy pools of luxury. Overpowered by the intoxicating strength of the wine of delusion, will you bow down your head before this rising power? Therefore for the maintenance of the members of our party and for the abundant supply of arms and ammunition we shall be forced up to our last day to commit robberies and dacoities. God knows we have got no other alternative. If however we get sufficient money from any devoted son of the country, then there will be peace for some time.

It is not proper to say anything more explicitly. The first effort for attaining the freedom of India has been frustrated. In other countries many such efforts have been baffled. Before long we will deal a severe blow to the English. God knows in which blow the reign of vice of the English will be destroyed. But there is no doubt that it will be destroyed.

“SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA).”*

19th January 1916.

Human life is transitory—you are attached to it? See how old Amir Chand caught in the Delhi Conspiracy, through failure of justice, willingly put his neck into the hangman's rope. How many shall we mention,—the Bengali hero Basanta Kumar, Abad Behari of good character, the pious Balmokand, the seven heroes of Ferozepur, smilingly poured out their own heart's blood unstintedly in order to appease the Mother's thirst. Then the other day in the Lahore Conspiracy (case), through the tyranny of the English, eight brave Sons came forward to sacrifice their consecrated lives at the Mother's feet—think of the lofty life of Bhai Paramanand—think of the noble character of Pingle, the Maratha hero,—think of the fearlessness of the brave-hearted Kartar Singh,—think how, because the Mother is thirsty, these pious and noble souls are unhesitatingly pouring out their heart's blood to her gratification. We say again, will not the Mother awake? Hark to that roar—the Goddess Kali on the cremation ground, surrounded by tens of millions of her spirit attendants, making the whole world quake with her cry of “Fear Not,” is reassuringly telling us to arise, awake and to offer up everything that we have. Next the heart's blood of Jatin was sacrificed in the forest lands of Orissa. Look, look how the Mother rejoiced. If the Mother is not appeased by the heart's blood of stainless and faultless Sons, if the everlasting stains of India are not washed away by so much blood—then what else is to do it? We say again, Mother wilt thou still remain asleep? Perhaps the Mother wants (more) blood still—she wants to be adorned with a garland of the heads of a hundred thousand sons. If we are to make the Mother dance on the battlefield, it is we who must once first deck her out in that guise. Who is the lucky devotee who is still counting the days—let him come out—let him cover the Mother's broad bosom with the heads of a hundred thousand devotees—let him smear the edge of the sword with sacred blood,—let him lay a hundred thousand bosoms low on the earth, so that the Mother may dance on them,—let him come forward,—let him come forward to secure immortality.

“SWADHIN BHARAT (INDEPENDENT INDIA).”*

15th September 1916.

The wiles of the English are being found out at every step. Countrymen, how long more? Rise with a vow to sacrifice your life. What do you fear? What can be a greater misery to a being than death? When there is no means of escaping this death, let us sacrifice our transitory life and accomplish the vow we have taken for the (service of the) Mother.

3. The “Liberty” leaflets, which appeared at uncertain intervals from May 1913 to March 1916.—Extracts from this series are the following:—

“LIBERTY.”

13th May 1913.

Revolution has never been the work of men. It is always God's own will worked through instruments. Those who were commissioned to bring about mighty changes were full of the force of the Zeitgeist. Spirit enters into them. God Himself worked in Khudiram Bose, Praphulla Chaki, Kanai Lal Dutt, Madan Lal Dhingra and others. (Hallowed be their sweet memories.) The thrower of bomb on the representative of the tyrannical government at Delhi was none else but the spirit of the Dispenser of all things Himself. Had it not been a Providential fiat, the resourceful machinery of the Bureaucrats would have been exulting as much as they have to weep over their fate to-day. The debt we owe to the noble spirits of the martyrs will be paid only when young men of India will begin to come forward in numbers, each to prove a worthy successor of these departed souls. Is the blood of these martyrs or the exiles of patriots not sufficient to madden you? Come forward, young men of Bharat-varsha (India), prove yourselves worthy sons of this holy land and let the *Feringhi* tyrants feel the full force of your indignation by being offered as sacrifices at the altar of the Mother.

“LIBERTY.”

13th May 1913.

To-day we hear the echo of *swaraj* from end to end of this vast and mighty Peninsula. All equally feel the absolute necessity and cherish the ideal of *swaraj*. The study of the history of revolution in all other countries affords great hope for a revolution in India. It only requires an igniting spark to kindle the fire destined to extinguish the foreign rule in India. . . .

Various are the ways of Providence to bring about changes. The upheaval of 1857 was the rising of an unprepared injured child against demon, but the Revolution of 1917 is to be the rising of a full-grown and completely armed man against a spent-up, emaciated and worn-out cruel and blood-sucking wolf; or in other words, the conflict is to be between Virtue in its full glory, armed with the Might of Justice and Freedom, and Vice with a drooping body. . . . We believe in the teachings of the Lord Himself—that the Kshatriya must slay the foes of his Motherland as his duty and he does it without sin. This is our moral basis, for a true Indian cannot make better offering to the Lord than to lay down his own life in the destruction of the enemies of his land and religion. The *Gita*, the *Vedas*, and the *Koran*, all enjoin us to kill all the enemies of our Motherland, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. The murder of Gosain, of Shams-ul-Alam or of Nanda Lal is as good as that of Jackson or Curzon-Wyllie. The true devotee at once responds to the call of his inner self and while ascending the gibbet (if need there be) cheerfully proclaims:—"Thousands yearly die of starvation and famine brought by the *Feringhis*, but we die for our country. Death is certain; then why not die the death of a hero, a martyr?"

"LIBERTY."

25th July 1913.

No Hindu can consider or call himself a true and sincere worshipper of the Lord in the form of Sri Krishna who has not the courage to follow His mandate—"Either, being killed, thou wilt win Swarga's safety; or, alive and victor, thou wilt reign an earthly king. Therefore, arise thou son of Kunti! Brace thine arm for conflict, nerve thy heart to meet,—as things alike to thee—pleasure or pain, profit or ruin, victory or defeat; so minded, gird thee to the fight, for so thou shalt not sin!" Nor can a true follower of Mahomet have any hesitation in declaring JIHAD against the enemies of their religion and land and the active though behind-the-scenes participants in the destruction of Egypt, Persia and Turkey. . . . Organize yourselves into Societies and push the work forward with rapidity. Prepare the nation for the coming Revolution. At the same time, let the *Feringhi* tyrants be sacrificed to appease the hunger of the Kali-Mother India; make the Government of these *Mlechchhas* impossible in this sacred land. Let every true son of *Bharat* determine to kill at least one *Feringhi*, by no means difficult, and you will have accomplished the desired object. It is a war between the English and the Indians, and there is no choice to be made. The total number of Englishmen in India is less than a lakh. Is it very difficult for three hundred millions to succeed against one lakh?

"LIBERTY."

22nd August 1914.

We have been cruel only to be kind. We feel deeply for the families which have lost their father, kinsman or guardians; but such sacrifices are natural and unavoidable in a Freedom's battle. Even in our living memory we have seen how the contending parties in the Russo-Jap war and Turkish war have cheerfully sacrificed their lives for freedom. Secret assassinations are necessary to rouse the dormant feeling of a people demoralised by the tricks and evil designs of usurpers.

"LIBERTY, No. 4."

Bombay, 1st September 1914.

Thou hast got this fit opportunity to be free from slavery. Such an opportunity will not occur again soon. Thou mayst not have arms; it does not matter. Have confidence in thine own courage and begin the task. Collect together thousands of men inspired by the same thought and prepare to fight by means of guerilla warfare. Then no difficulty will obstruct (thee). The arms in the hand of thine enemies are thine own. Take them by a *coup de main*. Now do not sit quiet and lose time. England is at present engaged in a war with Germany. Therefore, no sooner thou raisest the standard of liberty, Germany will prevent England from looking in this direction. This is the time for Germany's benefit as well as for thy liberation. If this golden opportunity is lost, thy folly will be unmatched.

"LIBERTY."

July 1915.

The public are already aware of our failure in the attempted revolution in the Punjab or rather in the whole of Northern India. This was our first attempt in this direction since the awakening of our national consciousness through the benevolent act of Lord Curzon. We admit that there are various disadvantages in our path. We have to encounter a barbarous Government with unlimited material resources at its disposal, and armed with barbarous acts and statutes. All these, however, we did overcome and easily. But for a few hours only we would have been successful in

our attempt had not the wretched spy given previous information to the Government about the date of our proposed rising. Not only the civil population to the number of about 5,000 joined us, but the army in Ferozepur, Meerut, Rawalpindi, and many other places, the names of which we decline to give out for obvious reasons, promise to rise up and side with us as soon as we break out in Lahore, the army of which place advanced so far as to get themselves initiated as soon as our men would reach them. However, man proposes, and God disposes.

The most unfortunate thing was that many of our gallant brothers of the army had to give up their lives without the proper return. Singapore, Meerut, Lahore and other armies, and many more will still have to sacrifice their lives through the treachery of the approvers. We are, however, not the least sorry for all these things. Practically speaking there has not been sacrifice at all in India. What if 100 or 80 go to the gallows? When thousands and thousands would face death calmly and steadily, then and then only the cup of sacrifice will be full to the brim and our *prayaschitta* will be over. Liberty, the holy Liberty cannot be gained at a cheap price, great sacrifices are necessary.

Rivers of blood will flow from the Punjab to Bengal, then and then only can we expect any success.

Now we are engaged in a colossal preparation for again raising the standard of revolution successfully (that a revolution is possible in India is amply exemplified in the present political cases). Though this time we failed, but we do not regret because we have tremendous faith in our ultimate success.

In conclusion we might mention for the gratification of the Hindu brothers that our Muhammadan brothers are also not less active in this matter. They are also vigorously working in conjunction with the Hindus. So, brothers, Hindus and Muhammadans rise up in the name of your forefathers and drive away these English oppressors. When death IS SURE TO COME ONE DAY, then why not die like a man for this noble cause? What is the use of dying like cats and dogs?

“LIBERTY.”

28th March 1916.

To our Countrymen. Mother India calls away! away! to where the blood stream flows. Be not timid. The rifle and the bayonet blade were fitter now for arms like yours. Let the hands that ply the harmless pen, quit the light task, and take up the harder one to wield the deadly weapons.

Few, few are the usurpers; but we are many. Let us hold the grim resolve to guard India well; strike for the holy, godly, broad motherland, blow after blow, till the world shall see that MIGHT AND RIGHT MOVE HAND IN HAND and glorious must our triumph be!

4. *Miscellaneous leaflets, 1912—17, which vary in tone, as the following extracts show:—

“MAHAKAL (THE GOD OF DESTRUCTION).”*

26th June 1912.

I will lead you like a burning light through the dark, inaccessible way. Simply assemble once with determination and courage to deliver your freedom from the clutch of the *Feringhi* cannibals, and without hesitating, make the following the motto of your life, “kill the *Feringhis* or die,” and jump into the field of action.

“OM BANDE MATARAM.”*

21st June 1913.

Whenever, O Arjun, righteousness decays, and unrighteousness prevails, I incarnate Myself, era after era, in order to save the honest, to destroy the wrong-doers, and to establish righteousness.

A Call.

Who is the coward, who, listening to the sacred rousing hymn which is being sung in this land of India to-day, will remain inactive? The time for awaking is at hand. Do not waste further time; rouse yourselves. Come, youths who strive for independence, let us all together finish the worship, in making the preliminary preparations for which our brethren, (dear to us) as life itself,—Praphulla, Khudiram, Kanai and Satyen—have yielded up their lives, and thereby secure the favour of Mahasakti (the Great Power). Come, sons of India, casting aside desire for pleasure, luxury, wealth and worldly attachment, come forward to devote yourselves to the worship of the Mother. Let us carry to a finish the work begun by those who fell the first victims while arranging with their blood-stained hands offerings of the blood-red *hibiscus* at the Mother's feet. At the taste of blood they became mad, and, despising life, rushed forward on to the

* Translation from Bengali.

path of death. Come, let us flood the whole country with streams of that blood. Let those come forward who will, to attain immortal death, worship the blood-coloured feet, abandoning all hopes of transitory pleasures. To-day a call for death is being heard all over India.

Who will die like an active worker, instead of meeting death like a corpse? He who will die (such a death), let him come forward now. . . . Do not be cast down by petty failures. Do not be pained by the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Lieutenant-Governor at Overtoun Hall. Coxford (Kingsford?) is still alive—they must all be destroyed. By your war-dances rouse dread in the *Feringhi's* breast. Prepare again for human sacrifice in India, which has been the land of sacrifices. What are you lacking in? There is no dearth of arms in the country or of money. Unnumbered weapons are waiting for you (to use). By our secret strivings during all these years, we have brought together arms numbered by thousands, and we now summon you to offer up the present of blood.

“ARISE.”*

7th April 1914.

O, you three hundred millions! You are not weak. We summon you to-day in a loud voice to come forward, to rouse yourselves,—the whole country. Come, let us appease the long-standing desire of the earth with the warm blood of this race of devils, (these) madly-dancing, violent demons. Do not remain asleep any longer. . . . The people are so weak that they never think of Freedom for a minute. The college students only think of passing their B.A. and securing a post on Rs. 80 or Rs. 50 at least. If they can pass the M.A., they secure a post of Rs. 100, put on hats like *sahibs*, marry a girl of Bethune College and walk joining hands with her in the Eden Garden, near the High Court. If they can do all these they think they are free. They do not look to the advancement of art and trade, but have weakened their minds by constant anxiety for service inasmuch as they never think of Freedom.

“ARISE.”*

18th September 1914.

Come, besmearing your body with blood
And bowing to the feet of the Mother,
Those who will go to the work of the Mother.

[Please do not tear. Make over to others after reading.]

O Bengali, arise, how long will you drink the blood of the Mother's emaciated body? Arise, our Mother is about to die, our Mother is begging from door in tattered clothes, with uncoiled dishevelled hair. Hindus! rise, brothers, let us go drying our eyes and fetch the Mother back. We shall not have to bear the oppression of these demons for long. We forty thousand Bengalis have assembled under a leader (*Prabhu*). If you do not believe, come and see. In this new enterprise let us go and suck the hot blood of the dying *Feringhis*. Circulate the news in every field, every village, every town, every landing-place (or bathing-place). Come those who will be the sons of the Mother! Come those who will dry the tears of the Mother! Come those who will kill the *Feringhis*, coveting the Mother! The German Navy has come into the Bay of Bengal and it has destroyed five ships of the English. Brother, be ready for the defence of Bengal, be ready for the defence of the country, be ready for the defence of yourself. The Pole Star in the evening is your help—the courage of your mind. Hindus, if you cannot do this much, then understand that you are not of Hindu caste, your birth is from the blood of the *Feringhis*, you are casteless, you are no true Bengalis. Death is for you.

SANTAN.

“JIHAD (A HOLY WAR).”†

28th November 1916.

To the cry of “Allah is Great,” with an army of Believers, smash up the Englishman's church, set fire to the Englishman's home, cut up Englishmen along with their children, and pillage the English business houses. I have travelled all over India and brought my work almost to completion. I now tell you, Enver Pasha is coming to India with Turkish troops.

* Translation from Bengali.

† Translation from Urdu.

THE "MONTAGU LEAFLET."

3rd December, 1917.

From,

The Secretary,
Home Department.

INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

Camp.....

To The Princes and People of India.

BROTHERS,

In view of the visit of Mr. Montagu and the flutter it has caused even among the professedly patriotic it has become necessary even at this late date to restate our views so that people may know between us and our enemies and judging, act.

Let there be no mistake about one central and cardinal fact. We are out after Independence. Independence SANS PHRASE. Independence without qualification and reservation and Independence in the fullest and completest sense of the word. It is irreconcilable with our traditions and our faith that India should be an unequal partner in any Federation of Nations of which England shall still be the mistress. The idea is revolting.

Now Independence cannot be a matter of gift. No one people can give it to any other people or race. It has to be won—won with labour and pain; won through blood and terror, won through sacrifice and woe. It is madness to think that you can have this treasure and yet not pay the price for it. Even if Independence was a matter of gift, are the English the people to give it? The English are not a philanthropic people. Throughout the long course of their history, no one act of chivalry and generosity can be placed to their credit. And do you think that they will change their character for you? Why then is this Montagu coming; why all this pompous talk about the granting of self-government? Why this play-acting between different sections of the English people—some cautiously advocating the grant of Home Rule as a monument of British generosity while others affect to take the thing seriously and pretend to be amazed at the revolutionary character of the change.

The reasons are plain and obvious—

1. Because Turk is thundering at the gate.
2. Because England is in need of Indian Man power.
3. Because England is in need of Indian Money power, and you cannot ask people to shed their blood or treasure without at least deluding them with a show.
4. Because England has bragged too much about the rights of Nationalities and has been caught in the snare of her words.
5. Because America demands a price for her alliance and that price is autonomy for India and Ireland.

Mr. Montagu comes then to delude you, and delude the world, perhaps even to delude himself. But he does not care, he cannot care to make you free. Towards that you yourselves must work.

What then must we do? * Our duty is plain. We have no concern in Mr. Montagu's coming or going. He is coming in peace, he may depart in peace for aught we know or care.

But first and last spread terror. Make this unholy Government impossible. Hide like invisible shadows of doom and rain death upon the alien bureaucracy. Remember your brothers who are perishing in Jails and rotting in swamps. Remember those who have died or have gone mad. Remember, watch and work.

We ask you once more brothers in the name of God and Country and all, young or old, rich or poor, Hindus and Mahomedans, Buddhists and Christians to join this War of Indian Independence and pour forth your blood and treasure. Hark, the Mother calls and shows the way NANYA PANTHA VIDYATE ANYA (The only way and no other).

By order of the Executive,

INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

APPENDIX B 3.

DISTRIBUTION OF SEDITIOUS LEAFLETS.

The following is a statement showing the districts in which copies of the same leaflets have been found. The statement comprises two well-defined series of leaflets, the *Swadhin Bharat* series, and the *Liberty* leaflets, and a number of miscellaneous ones. It goes back to the beginning of 1911, though of course there were seditious leaflets before then.

I.—“SWADHIN BHARAT.”

1. Leaflet of 24th February 1911 Dacca, Tippera, Dinajpur, Noakhali.
2. Leaflet of 20th March 1911 ... Mymensingh, Pabna, Rajshahi, Bakarganj, Dacca, Gauhati (Assam), Calcutta, Shillong (Assam), Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Assam), Rangpur, Noakhali.
3. Leaflet of 18th April 1911 ... Calcutta, Dacca, Mymensingh, Noakhali, Tippera.
4. Leaflet of 13th September 1911 Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh, Tippera.
5. Leaflet of 18th October 1911 Faridpur, Bakarganj.
6. Leaflet of 28th October 1911 Mymensingh.
7. Leaflet of 9th November 1911 Dacca, Tippera, Pabna, Hill Tippera (independent), Mymensingh.
8. Leaflet of 24th December 1911 Dacca, Calcutta, Tippera, Noakhali, Sylhet (Assam), Faridpur.
9. Leaflet of 18th September 1912 Calcutta, Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Sonthal Parganas (Bihar and Orissa), Dacca.
10. Leaflet of 13th January 1913 Calcutta, Mymensingh, Noakhali, Faridpur, Dacca, Tippera, Bakarganj, Rajshahi, Bogra.
11. Leaflet of 15th February 1913 Dinajpur, Bakarganj, Bogra, Faridpur, Dacca, Hill Tippera, Mymensingh, Calcutta, Tippera, Noakhali, Rangpur, Chittagong, Khulna.
12. Leaflet of 2nd March 1913 ... Rangpur.
13. Leaflet of 6th March 1913 ... Faridpur, Calcutta (on 7th March 1913).
14. Leaflet of 10th September 1913 Mymensingh.
(entitled “Swadhin Bharat”).
15. Leaflet of 10th September 1913 Mymensingh, Dacca, Bakarganj, Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Murshidabad, Faridpur, Mataram Swadhin Bharat”).
Malda.
16. Leaflet of 10th December 1914 Noakhali, Mymensingh.
17. Leaflet of 2nd March 1915 ... Calcutta, Mymensingh, Dacca, Howrah, Tippera, Faridpur, Rangpur, Hooghly, Nadia, Rajshahi, Noakhali, Malda.
18. Leaflet of 23rd June 1915 ... Noakhali, Rajshahi, Mymensingh, Jessore, Tippera, Calcutta, Dinajpur, Murshidabad, Dacca, Malda, Benares (United Provinces).
19. Leaflet of 19th January 1916 Bakarganj, Mymensingh, Murshidabad, Dacca, Tippera, Bogra, Faridpur, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Pabna, Howrah, Birbhum, Calcutta, Benares.

20. Leaflet of 15th September 1916. Dacca, Calcutta, Pakarganj, Rangpur, Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Hooghly, Faridpur, Noakhali, Pabna, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Howrah, Midnapore, Agra (United Provinces), Lucknow (United Provinces).
21. Leaflet of 19th February 1917 24-Parganas.
22. Leaflet of 18th August 1917 ... 24-Parganas, Dacca, Khulna, Bakarganj, Malda, Rajshahi, Calcutta, Pabna.

II.—“LIBERTY” LEAFLETS.

1. Leaflet of 13th May 1913 ... Howrah.
2. Leaflet of 25th July 1913 ... Hooghly.
3. Leaflet of 9th December 1913 Tippera, Mymensingh, Delhi, Calcutta, Chittagong, Bakarganj, Noakhali, Faridpur.
4. Leaflet of 16th July 1914 ... Birbhum.
5. Leaflet of 22nd August 1914 Calcutta, Chandernagore (French territory), Bankura, Faridpur, Tippera, Mymensingh, Dacca, Noakhali, Chittagong.
6. Leaflet of 22nd December 1914 Rajshahi, Malda, Faridpur, Pabna, Tippera, Calcutta, Burdwan, Dacca, Murshidabad, Jessore.
7. Leaflet of 12th July 1915 ... Calcutta, Mymensingh, Benares.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS LEAFLETS.

1. “Mahakal” leaflet of 26th Calcutta.
June 1912.
2. “Jugantar” leaflet of 26th Calcutta.
July 1912.
3. “Bande Mataram” leaflet of Mymensingh, Pabna.
21st February 1913.
4. “Om Bande Mataram” leaflet Bakarganj, Bogra, Jessore.
of 21st June 1913.
5. “Kali Ma, Bande Mataram” Calcutta.
leaflet of 2nd March 1914.
6. “Arise” leaflet of 7th April Faridpur.
1914.
7. “Om Bande Mataram, Jugantar! Jugantar! Jugantar! Birbhum, Dacca, Burdwan, Jessore, Jalpaiguri,
All ye become men” of 5th Nadia, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Chittagong, Calcutta, Midnapore, Pakarganj, Rangpur
September 1914. Khulna, Pabna, Faridpur, Tippera, Noakhali, Malda, Bankura.
8. “File, No Shame” leaflet of Birbhum.
18th September 1914.
9. “Come, besmearing your body Rajshahi.
with blood” leaflet of 18th
September 1914.
10. “Jehad, Jehad” leaflet of 5th Calcutta.
October 1914.
11. “Tracts for Rangoon. No. 8, Calcutta.
A Day of Humiliation” leaflet
of 30th December 1914.
12. “Bande Mataram” leaflet of Jessore.
26th March 1915.

13. "From the office of the Director-General, Indian Revolution, Vigilance Department, Bengal Branch," addressed to "The Public in General and Members of our Camp" of 8th March 1916. Khulna, Bakarganj, Bankura, 24-Parganas, Dinajpur, Jessore, Tippera, Nadia.
14. Leaflet of 28th March 1916 ... Bakarganj, Pabna, Noakhali, Mymensingh, Tippera, Dacca, Faridpur, Calcutta, Howrah, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Murshidabad, 24-Parganas, Chittagong, Bogra.
15. "Indian National Defence Camp" of 15th April 1916. Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Khulna, Madras, Lahore (Punjab).
16. "From the office of the Director-General, Indian Revolution, Vigilance Department, Bengal Branch," addressed to "The Public in General and Members of our Camp" of 25th May 1916. Calcutta, Howrah, Burdwan.
17. "Jugantar" of 9th September 1916. Dacca, Mymensingh, Bakarganj.
18. "I.R. Camp (Bengal Branch) from the office of the Director-General, Administration Department," of 27th September 1916. Mymensingh, Calcutta, Dacca, Bakarganj, Bombay.
19. "Jehad" of 28th November 1916. Mymensingh, Calcutta, Dacca.
20. "Jugantar" of 8th December 1916. Dacca, Calcutta, Tippera.
21. "Indian Revolutionary Society." "To the Princes and People of India" of 3rd December 1917. Calcutta, Benares, United Provinces generally, Central Provinces.

APPENDIX B4.

KHULNA-JESSORE CASE DOCUMENTS.*

EXHIBIT 75(a).

POEMS.

I

(1)

Where art thou, Mother, Hara's consort, deliverer of the three worlds.
 Thou who conferrest religion, riches, desires, deliverance and all other things
 worth having!
 I call thee, O Abhaya, with deeply depressed heart;
 Give me, Mother, the protection (*lit.* boat) of thy feet,
 Thou, Mother, who givest deliverance.
 Say, Mother, who else will deliver me except thee?

(2)

We have grown impatient at the persecution by the robbers.
 Merciful goddess, look at us with an eye of compassion.
 Peace has departed; it seems as if the moon has been overtaken by the monster
Rashu in the Indian sky,
 And the hearts of the people of Bengal are devoid of happiness.

(3)

I know that the world is guided by thee.
 Why then are we not maintained by thee?
 What fault have we all committed?
 (1) tell us, Mother, what offence has been committed by the sons of Aryas at
 thy lotus feet?

(4)

If the child be refractory and foolish,
 Does it not find a place in the lap of its mother?
 Listen, Mother, I pray thee:—do not afflict us any longer.
 We are constantly roaming about suffering intense pain,
 Assuage our griefs quickly, O Mother, who art the giver of happiness.

II

The Goddess Syama, her complexion black as the cloud, her wearing apparel
 gone,
 The three-eyed goddess stands on the corpse of Siva. She is *Brahmamayi* and
 is supreme. She wears ear-ornaments and a necklace of human heads round
 her neck, and is terrible to behold. The goddess, her hair unbound,
 holds in her left hand a human head and a sword.
 (A line here is unintelligible.)
 Fixing this aspect of her in your mind and bidding adieu to all fears of this
 world, why not worship her with your mind and speech reconciled?

III

(1)

We have our conch-shell bangles, our *saris*, and we have our *mals* on our ankles;
 Still we have overflowed the country with *bilati* goods;
 Such insane women are we.

* Translated from Bengali.

(2)

For our food and raiment and all our necessities, look once and see;
But having ruined the country we are sitting idle;
Such insane women are we.

(3)

Our country produces gold; we know it but still ignore it.
We enjoy the luxuries of otto and pomade;
Such insane women are we.

(4)

We have forgotten what true love of country is;
Otherwise, how could we send *bilati* articles to our women friends as presents?
Such insane women are we.

(5)

We insist that our husbands take no objection to *bilati* things;
What pleasure we feel in eating *bilati* dishes!
Such insane women are we.

(6)

If *bilati* milk be not available, our babies develop *swadeshi* spleens.
We are mothers; yet we give *bilati* poison to our own children;
Such insane women are we.

(7)

When *Puja* time comes, if our husbands do not give us *bilati* articles, day and
night we insist on having *bilati* articles,
Such insane women are we.

(8)

Native nostrums can no longer satisfy us;
What a strange anomaly has come to pass!
A "Doctor" only can satisfy us, while the native physicians wander about
the streets.
Such insane women are we.

(9)

We never care to think of the miserable plight of our country.
Our only ambition is to walk in the open field like the *Memsahibs*.
Such insane women are we.

IV

(1)

Arise, arise, awake, sons of India,
How long will you remain crest-fallen?
Behold, the sun of your happiness has made its appearance and has already
ascended the eastern mountain.
Therefore arise and awake.

(2)

You are sons of Aryas, you are the foremost nation;
Why then do you allow yourselves to be kicked by the foreigner?
Do you therefore show your greatness, and to remove the Mother's sufferings,
bind all men and women with the bond of unity.

(3)

Give up slandering others and meddling with other people's affairs,
 And make a supreme effort (even) at the cost of your lives.
 The deed which, though easy, you have always kept profoundly secret, taking
 it to be impossible of achievement,
 Only make an attempt to accomplish, and see whether you succeed.

(4)

Arise, brother, awake; sleep no longer;
 For, if you go on sleeping, the deliverance of your country will be impossible.
 With your minds and souls open, and with the cry of *Bande Mataram*,
 Come forward to do your duties;
 See that you carefully conceal all outward manifestations.

(5)

Though you are all sons of Mother India, why do you always remain forgetful
 of your duty?
 Always occupied with yourselves and with the distinction of caste,
 Why are you constantly engaged in meddling with other people's affairs?
 If you do not give up slandering others there is no remedy.

Sri Kali, Sri Durga

Sri Chhinnamasta

Sri Bangala.

(Sd.) SRI KESHAB LAL CHAKRAVARTI,

of Maheshwarpasa.

P. O. Daulatpur

Sri Sri Durga my help.

Sri Sri Durga my help.

Sri Sri Durga my help.

V

Do not make any difference between Ram and Rahim, (but) keep your mind pure;
 think of the country, brother, for the country is our Mother. Hindus and Musalmans
 are sons of one and the same mother; why then make any difference between the two?

We two brothers have built two houses and are dwelling together in the same country.

Formerly rice used to sell at a rupee per maund, now it sells at 5 seers the rupee;
 it only remains now for us to live under trees. Turn your eyes, brother, towards your
 country, the foreigner has looted the country. They take away our money and in
 return give us lashes, slaps, blows and fisticuffs. Says Mohan, look to the Mother all
 of you; otherwise you will all be destroyed with your kith and kin, and the foreigner
 will inhabit this land.

VI

Listen, Hindus and Musalmans inhabiting India, sacrifice your lives in the coun-
 try's work, working together brother with brother united. Come forward and work
 for the country, heedless of honour or disgrace. Let all of you maintain your coun-
 try; we have no need for the *bideshi*; accept indigenous goods.

Coming to India the foreigners have, step by step, robbed India of all her
 riches and wealth. They have filled India with worthless goods and have taken away
 gold in exchange for glass baubles; foreign utensils are found in every house; sticks
 and *saris* of foreign manufacture now adorn our persons.

We are thirty crores of brothers, and yet we do not turn to look at the Mother, by whose generosity we enjoy our meals in our homes. We do not, even by mistake, think of the miserable plight of such an unspeakable Mother. Curzon has divided into two our Mother country in whose lap we have lived since our birth.

Listen, therefore, O people of India, awake once while there is yet time. Curzon accomplished a great deed. Curzon shot an animating arrow which served to awaken the sons of India. Says humble Nakul, utter *Bande Mataram* in chorus.

VII

Hear, hear, brothers inhabiting India, let me recount the tale of sorrow. The foreigner governs (the country); they took possession of the jewel of India by force, fraud and stratagem, and planted engines in the Mother's bosom. Can this sorrow be rooted out even by death? The foreigners have come in large numbers and are plundering (the country); India has been despoiled of her riches by the machinations of designing persons.

Then came down in this dark *Kali* era the gods from heaven. Like a second sun came Babu Surendra Mohan, to free the Indians from the darkness of their ignorance. In every village and town the Babu called aloud saying "Hold the feet of the Mother on your heads and the *Feringhis* will be put down. *Matangi* (a form of the goddess *Kali*) has been maddened to-day with divine influence." Seeing the miseries of the sons of India Aswini Kumar, that worthy son of Mother India, has come down from heaven at the end of the *Kali* era as an incarnation of *Dharma* (piety), to efface all distinctions in the world and to deliver India, and is instructing men and women; he is the life's treasure of the Mother. Whose fair fame being proclaimed, Barisal is justly proud of him.

Babu Bipin Chandra, who is like the god Indra himself and is a jewel of India, has come to India in order to awaken the Indian World. By the Mother's blessing he is proclaiming "Cry *Ma'bhai*" (fear not) Oh Indians and the foreigners will be blown away; associate together, all of you, and forget self-pride; let the Hindus and Muslims hoist the flag of unity.

Mian Abul Hossain carefully gladdens the heart of Indians, protects his country and is extremely wise; it was at an auspicious moment that he was born in India.

Rasul Mian is the life of "India," Ghaznavi is the best among men, and Leakut Hossain is the Mother's treasure. Nakul's strength lies in the feet of the Mother. Assume, brother, the holy attitude of unity.

VIII

Cry, brother, *Bande Mataram*, *Bande Mataram*, and let us be carried away by it. Utter the Mother's name, O sons of India, and come forward, my soul will dance at the sweet sound of *Bande Mataram*. Strength will come to your heart, put your reliance on the cry. Waves will arise in the sea of the heart, so deep is the *mantra* *Bande Mataram*.

IX

We all will sing *Bande Mataram*. After we die we shall be immortal and enjoy heavenly bliss. The sweet name we have we all will sing as long as all live in this world. We no longer obey illegal orders, and we fear little the reddening of the eyes (anger). Do you imagine, alas, that you will make us forget to utter the Mother's name by your *lathi* blows? That hope will never be fulfilled as long as there is breath in our bodies.

X

You become dead after passing (examinations). Spirit and vigour disappear, and you conquer the world by the force of your tongues. If you desire to be so many *sahibs* by reading A. B. C. D, then (a portion here is unintelligible) will they spare you even though you utter such fortunate? It is for this that I say, you have been well taught simply to wear (European) dress. You are an Indian, but all that your wear on your body is foreign; you perhaps think that the "natives" will respect you. But the sleep of the "natives" is gone as Curzon has given them a call. You will not be countenanced by them unless you wear indigenous *dhoti* and *chadar*. Are the natives any longer "natives"? They found out their mistake the day that Curzon raised his sword on the Mother. The "natives" have placed their sole reliance on "unity" and "purity." Mukunda therefore slaps his armpits in glee and says "Victory to Mother Tara!"

XI

O the times, O dire *Kali* era, I wish to die with thy ills on me, otherwise, how could he, Aswini Babu, be a *guli khar* (opium smoker)? What an evil tendency prevails in the world that everybody tries to find the faults of others! The sight makes

me laugh, and (I wonder) how strong is the force of the wisdom of the Babus. The wicked are being constantly honoured, and the good are disregarded. The *Dharma Shastras* are (to them) mere idle stories, and the Babus are smitten with love by reading novels. That man is not a bad man who is always drinking wine, to whom woman is the best treasure, and he gets high posts; (but) he who does not drink is put down as a drunkard. Seeing this tenour of the world, Mukunda's wants are fulfilled. A thoughtful man having taught me my lesson, my drowsiness has passed away.

XII

If you will love, you will be immersed in love, for love is dear as the bird of life. Find out an honest man and love him, and keep your eye as a guard. Love between one honest person and another will lead to great happiness. If you love a person who does not know what love is, you will pass your days in sorrow. Love is devotion, love is prayer, love is the essence of the three worlds. If you fail to make such love as deserves to be called by that name, how can you cross this world? Love is life and separation is death; do not therefore disdain love. Know that that Being is to be loved who has created (the world). By command of Sri Guru, Mukunda says that our love is for the Mother.

XIII

Alas!

Flowers of various colours have blossomed in the garden; if you think of them your souls will be uneasy. That flower remains facing downwards, or if one be specially fortunate, it remains facing upwards. That person who is on the look-out for it is called a lunatic by ordinary people. The person who is a competent *mali* (gardener) makes his home in the garden. Who is equal to him whose mind has been fascinated by that scent? Says Krishna Kanta, there is nothing except the worship of the Mother; the holy feet of the Sri Guru can be obtained only by worshipping what deserves to be worshipped.

XIV.

Extremely poor are we, extremely humble are we; still we are thirty crores of brothers. Let us awake and arise. All the Mother's milk is drawn and carried off: shall we lie down in the house starving? We wish to take (only) coarse rice, brother, and wear coarse cloth; we will not make use of lavender water, we do not want otto. Start looms in your houses, set up shops, and do not allow the paddy in your *golas* to be exported to foreign countries. Do not lose such an auspicious time, come and collect at the feet of the Mother. With our own gold we will not purchase (the worthless stuff of foreigners). O foreigners! hear me, (your) fragile glass easily breaks. We have seen through everything—you carry away our gold by giving us your toys instead.

XV.

What a joyful sound (is heard) in Bengal, which has (also) arisen throughout India. Selling and buying are going on merrily in the abode of joy. (Yonder) we see country-made sugar, country-made *dhotis*, and country-made everything. We fervently wish that our minds may not be attracted by foreign things. O Indians, blow away foreign articles with bombs (or into the sky). Let all India's sons awake and, heedless of honour and disgrace, come forward to do their duties. By virtue of the Mother's name, everybody is doing exactly as he likes with all his might in this his Motherland. Depend solely upon the hand-loom, all of you: great is the power of the hand-loom. From the hand-loom, conch-shell bangles will be gained, the hand-loom will give *saris*, and the hand-loom will supply all necessities. Says twice-born Abinash, this is the right opportune moment; if luckily you have got it, do not let it go through mistake.

XVI

With your hearts strengthened and crying "victory to the Mother," stand forward, ye sons of India, and let all the foreigners behold that the Bengali knows how to sacrifice his life. Stand all of you, shoulder to shoulder, forgetting honour and disgrace. O Hindus and Musalmans; the country must be saved, so forget all enmities and let all the thirty crores be of one heart. You are now sitting idle, why not take the sword in hand? Honour and respectability bid fair to depart. Sound the drum of the (Mother's) name, you will be able to conquer Lanka (Ceylon) and the victorious banner will fly aloft. By the force of the Mother's name, fruits grow even when they are not in season, the proper season and the reverse being all the same. Have no fear, victory will surely come as a divine voice has sung.

XVII

Throw into the water, elder sister, forget altogether foreign soaps, bodices, pomatum and other things. Let all the women of Bengal give up all foreign luxuries and take the vow "we will not purchase powders and glass bangles any more, we will

not use lavender water, essences and eau-de-cologne, but resolve to boycott all foreign articles. We will wear coarse conch-shell bangles and *saris*; we will eat gram, cucumbers and cocoanuts, filling our stomachs. We will no longer touch tin utensils, we will no longer dress ourselves with foreign clothes. We will not behave ourselves in the *Sahabi* style, we will not fill our stomachs with foreign foods." Says Abinash, observe (our) old customs, (eschewing) foreign soaps, bodices, pomatum, etc.

XVIII

Give up glass bangles, women of Bengal; never wear them on your wrists; awake, O sister, O mother, remain no longer miserable in sleep. In your love for glass do not throw away the conch-shell, do not wear shameful ornaments on your hands. All the world knows that you are the presiding deities of the household, which *Dharma* testifies; showy glass bangles and (unintelligible) necklaces do not grace your persons. Even if you do not possess desirable gold ornaments, I see no cause of grief in that; the Arya woman with vermilion at the parting of the hair on the head is famous in the world as a beautiful woman of unstained virtue. I am ashamed to tell it, my heart breaks (to see) that (a portion here is unintelligible).

Hark! Mother Bengal says "Arise all my daughters, you have vowed to do everything: all these treasures of your Mother will not be carried away into foreign countries; I am unfortunate, I have nothing to eat. You do not think what I was, what I have now come to be, and to what I have come at last."

XIX

I was hitherto in an impure condition; I am now initiated, and so my person is purified. Having obtained the *mul mantra* (the essential formula) my uneasiness of mind is gone. I am to-day delivered from the pit of infatuation; I will observe my own *Dharma* with all my heart; I will repeat *Bande Mataram* and so I will cross this mundane world. I have got the adorable object in this world; what anxiety have I now in my mind? The Mother's *mantra* is my everything, all other things being useless; in it be the creation and preservation of the world. I have got this treasure by countless good deeds in a succession of births. Says Abinash, do not dread the foreigner (but) place your trust in the Mother's name.

XX

Behaving yourselves in the foreign style you have forgotten the *swadeshi* style. It seems as if you derive very great pleasure from uttering gibberish. Being sons of the Mother, what fear is there to go into her lap, looking at her feet and with your heart and soul in her? The men and the women in this world have taken the forms of Siva and Durga, like Krishna and Radha; so says twice-born Abinash.

XXI

O Mother, let life depart if it must depart in uttering *Bande Mataram* and in doing exclusively thy work in this world uttering *Bande Mataram*. When at last closing my eyes I shall lay myself down in the water, everything then will appear dark to me; then grant, O Mother, a place in thy lap. Honour and disgrace are all the same to us; let them trample (us) under their feet; we cannot bear the persecution of the Mother; when shall we be men? The red cap and the black *kurta*, their false fears can no longer terrify. I will continue to serve the Mother, though brute force set fire to everything. Do you mean to make me forget my Mother by flogging me? Am I such a son of the Mother? At the sight of bloodshed, power will grow. Who will flee away leaving the Mother behind? If I have to undergo persecution in the service of the Mother, if I be flogged in jail, or if I be hanged from the gallows by them, I shall consider myself honoured. Say, who is afraid of persecution when remembering the name of the Mother, in whose lap we dance, by whose crops we live, and whose waters quench our thirst? Says Bisharad, without sorrow happiness cannot be reaped in this world; he is prepared to suffer though so humble: let loftier men look up.

XXII

Had I full ten thousand lives, I would have drowned the foreigners' sun of glory in abysmal water; sounding the bugle of thy name, Mother, I would have destroyed the country's enemies, wiped away thy tears and witnessed thy smile in thy adorable face. Hear, brother. O foreigner, I would have shown to the world whether the Indians of India could wield the sword. If after hearing this anybody's heart be enchanted, let him come forward in martial guise. Mukunda is so prepared; if a helmsman could be found, I would have launched the boat.

XXIII

Brother, we are growing more and more helpless every day. The *Kali* era is growing more and more powerful, and happy days are almost gone. What should we do?

Rice sells at five rupees a maund? Just think who takes any notice of it. If Rangoon rice had not been imported, many would have perished of starvation; how, then, would Hindus and Musalmans save themselves? Be united, brother with brother, and so let the country prosper. The English are artfully oppressing and persecuting people, so that none can get anything to eat. The barber, the *Jola* (Muhammadan weaver), the wine merchant are all weeping, placing their hands on their heads, and the *Tantis* (Hindu weavers) are also weeping owing to the importation of *bilati* goods. Owing to our poverty of intellect in this *Kali* era this misfortune has befallen us. We have not the means of earning a single pice, yet we indulge in luxuries. Their own money they give away to others, and many a young man completely loses his head at the sight of *Bilati* goods. They cannot help buying goods worth one rupee at a rupee and a half, fools that they are, says Osman Molla: all praise to Suren Babu, he has issued the order, and since then nobody purchases *Bilati* goods any more. Use *swadeshi* goods. What need you fear? We are stone blind and we understand nothing. Foreign red beet sugar is a forbidden food.

There is the world awaking
 In attachment to *Swadesh* (one's own country).
 Who is torn up (?) except Bengal
 Sunk in sleep in the day time!
 Will not this deadly sleep come to an end:
 Will this state continue age after age?
 Receiving favour from others depression of spirit was not removed (?).
 To what disgust is this lassitude due?
 Though possessed of limbs Bengal is a cripple,
 (She) retraces the mark over the mark traced by others.
 Having emptied (his store room) for others
 The son of the Goddess of Wealth now begs for alms.
 To appease the stomach tormented (with hunger).
 He seeks servitude before all things,
 Always anoints the feet of the white man (*lit.*, supplies oil to the feet):
 Even that the Bengalee likes.
 After this, why, should he live?
 Dogs and goats also live.
 If the predicament of the country remains so
 What delay should there be in the giving up of life (*lit.*, body)?
 To the ruin of the country (*lit.*, a handful of water upon the head of the country)
 The serpent supplies food to the frog.
 (They) say (it is) free trade—no quarrel exists:
 How much do (they) give in love?
 In flattering others abjectly (*lit.*, at other's feet)
 They get cut to the quick as the result of what they do.
 Say when was any other country in such a pass (?),
 (Bare) life being sustained with difficulty
 On this wonderful field of action?
 We are blind from ophthalmia:
 Ah, that is why we cannot proceed along the path of hope.
 (While) all others are moving speedily (on),
 All (other) nations are exalted,
 We only are in the lowest stratum.
 This time (we) have taken this vow (?).
 (We) will not give it up (even) at the cost of life.
 When an emotional impulse comes to the mind
 (Your) enemy thinks it is only a sensation to the fore.
 Says Bisarad: that is the proper time,
 Accomplish your work in that opportunity.

Bande Mataram.

I utter the sound of *Bande Mataram*. I bow to Mother India, the land of my birth. Mother, when we are delivered out of our mothers' wombs, we get shelter in thy soft lap. I breathe thy breeze and coming to thy lap close my eyes. In my mother's womb I exist like an inert mass, and (it is) when I get thee that I come to be a living being: (while) I live for some little time on my mother's milk, it is the food produced by thee which sustains my life all through. By thy gift of cool water thou dost appease my heart, and it is thy breeze which fans me. By producing large quantities of food on thy green fields of corn, thou sustainest everybody's life. Thou dost cunningly enclose sweet fluids in fruits nourishing and palatable. Thou dost constantly supply sweet fruits and roots. Thy mercy is endless and thy greatness unbounded. Being regarded as of more importance than Heaven itself, thy virtues are sung unanimously in all countries. If, leaving thee, I go to any other country, I do not find such a happy place anywhere else. If a foreigner comes to take possession of thee, everybody dies without shrinking in trying to defend thee. But, Mother, what words of sorrow shall I say—we are unworthy sons of thine, fallen away from the correct observances. With strife amongst us brethren, devoid of unity, we are unable to know thee for what thou art, deceived by ignorance. Having lost unity, we have become weak, and sectional strife is the only resource we have. As milkmen tying the calves fast thrust them into pens, and drawing off the milk of their mother, which should sustain their lives, make them eat things unfit to be eaten, so the *Bilati* merchants fastening us with the bonds of ignorance, are robbing us of our Mother's wealth and (in exchange) giving us worthless *Bilati* merchandise. We are constantly in a state of delusion through fraud and deception, and accept those things which are injurious to religion and health. We have become spiritless, we lack strength in our limbs, our bodies are out of gear through want of food and through non-observance of the established rules of conduct. O Mother, I entreat thee, falling at thy feet, to give shelter to (us) thy sons who are devoid of righteousness, wealth and health; awake, Mother, and rouse thy unworthy sons, string all together in the same thread by the bonds of unity. O Mother, infuse spirit into the mind and strength into the body, teach us skill in agriculture, industry, and commerce. Create in our minds an unnatural hatred for *Bilati* things, so that we may not (even) look at them. O Mother, I pray to thee, give us thy blessing; I utter the sound of *Bande Mataram*.

Mother Bengal's Caution to Her sons.

Listen to the history of the strange way in which, through the sound of *Bande Mataram*, the greatness of *Sakti* (the active power of a deity personified as a female)—Power—was manifested on earth. Mother Bengal commands her sons to introduce *Sakti* worship in every house. Listen to the (following) counsel about the rules and arrangements therefor. Under the dispensation of Providence, the Musalman Sovereigns ruled India for a period of five hundred years with (the support of) their own partisans, exercising a strict sway. Seeing the lamentable condition of her sons, Mother India remained constantly cast down in sorrow, streams of tears flowed from her eyes, and her heart not proving equal to suffering (it all) she continued in a state of insensibility. The English came to India in the garb of merchants in the hope of commerce and trade, and quartered themselves here, sounding the trumpet of victory and unfurling the flag. Spreading the net of cunning, and in some cases, by a show of force, they established dominion, after trampling down the *Yavans*—thus was the dispensation of Providence, the writing of Fate. They whose business was to barter merchandise, became, alas! the rulers of the State, and the whole country passed into (a state of) terrible anarchy. At that time, the Mother secretly summoning her sons (to her) in the feeblest of voices whispered into their ears the great revivifying *mantra* (hymn) of *Bande Mataram*. The wretched (lit. worst) sons forgot the *Matri Mantra* (the creed of the Mother) and alas! brought about what was in store for them, the establishment of slavery in exchange for slavery. The Mother's heart burst in grief to see the faces of her unworthy sons, worn and thin and cast down with grief—(so) with a cast down face she remained in a state of insensibility. The English merchants, giving up the bartering of merchandise, took steps for (the dealing out of) justice and the discrimination of right and wrong; and (thereby) came to be praised all over the world and acquire fame and wealth and honour. They introduced the system of free trade here—all the merchants there ruined (*lit.*, devoured the head of) the country, robbed it of its all, leaving the people to wail (and groan). Famine filled the land, there was not a jot of happiness remaining, Mother Bengal assumed a woeful garb—at this time, the invincible Curzon came to the country. Revealing a crooked policy, in defiance of rules he partitioned Bengal giving rise to a terrible (feeling) of dread. Putting brothers apart, he separated them. Feeling hurt by the lopping off of her limbs, Mother Bengal assumed the garb of a formidable woman, and keeping herself invisible, summoned her sons (to her) in a terrible voice and gave them the warning (thus):—Giving up your sleep of ignorance, awake. Snap asunder the ropes of error, for how long more will you lie asleep. Awake, sons, and awaking see how, as the result of what you have done, the foreign merchants are robbing what should be the

food for your mouths, your valued treasure, by fraud, force and cunning. They are leaving the husk and chaff in heaps for you, while they rob you of the substantial (part of your) wealth. Open your eyes and see, and give up all pride. Give up *Bilati* merchandise, you will (then) come to be praised all over the world. If you obey the Mother's commands, you will prosper, the tide of time will turn back and (the decrees of) destiny will be altered. Bracing up your hearts and strength drive the plough with your own hands. Impelled by enthusiasm, establish mills in your own land. And ere long you shall see the sun of happiness on the horizon of your fortunes. Being all of one mind, stake your lives on trying to augment the country's wealth for the sake of the good of your own country. Learn, sons, all, to die fearlessly. Death is certain to come, after (a period of) suffering from malarial fever, or from starvation or (anyhow) after a time (from some other cause). Why then so much clinging to life? See how, at Port Arthur, on the banks of the Yalu, countless Japs yielded up their lives freely in shoals for the good of their country. They also are beings like you, and have bonds of attachment and affection. And (yet) they are not afraid to die. Why (then) are you terrified by the fear of the Bogey? The Bengalis are known for a timid cowardly race; wipe this infamy off the earth; keep your resolution unshaken for the good of the country. You have no more the right to use guns and sharp weapons, what is there to be afraid of in that? There is no weapon on earth like unity. If you can command the strength conferred by intelligence, and if your party is bound by unity, is not the strength conferred by weapons contemptible in comparison therewith? A bundle of straw can, by being brought together (so as to form a rope), tie an elephant. Sher Shah fought with a tiger unarmed and seizing it tightly, killed it with a blow with his fists. If there is energy, the impossible even may be achieved. Worship *Sakti* all of you and strength will be infused into your bodies. By the gift of the Goddess Durga, all diseases will be driven away and ere long you will come to be strong with a new strength. Giving up the *Purans* and the *Tantras* and opening the instrument of your hearts, recite incessantly the great revivifying *mantra* (hymn) of *Bande Mataram*. Listen, sons, to the rules about the worship of *Adya Sakti* (the Goddess Durga). Making the yard (clean and) holy, you will place a seat therein. Making a paint with rice-paste, write out with it most carefully the *Bande Mataram* hymn. Taking five pieces each of *pan* (betel-leaf), plantain and *supari* (betel-nut), place them in order at the four corners and at the centre. Procuring a bamboo-stick, place it behind the seat. Deck this stick out with flowers and garlands and inscribe on it also the *Bande Mataram* hymn. You will also place there indigenous fruits and roots and sweetmeets such as you can procure. Or you might get together the things necessary to a *sirni* (offering to a *pir* or a *Musalman* saint) and putting them in five vessels, place them there. Reverently reading the hymn to *Adya Sakti* (the Goddess Durga) worship *Mahasakti* (the same Goddess) with flowers and sandal-paste. With a pure heart you will render up to the feet of *Sakti* all the offerings. Uttering the hymn of *Bande Mataram* you will conclude the worship of *Sakti* reverently. There will be (simultaneously) a sound of conch-shells from the women's apartments, and all in union will raise an auspicious cry. Each will (now) recall what longing he has and the desire of his heart will be promptly gratified. Disease and sorrow will all vanish to a distance. If worship is rendered to *Sakti* people will acquire strength and heroism. You will read over this article about the greatness of *Sakti* while sitting amidst an assembly and every one will listen with joy. My *Musalman* sons also will worship *Mahasakti* (great power) the while thinking about *Elahi*. They will write "Salaam to the land of my birth" on the seat while the Christian will write "Hail motherland." When the worship is concluded, you will portion out the offerings of food to the deity, and distribute them to the people assembled to eat. Every one will render worship to *Sakti* in each home, and your mind will come to be filled with energy and zeal. The torment of disease will vanish and prowess and strength will be infused, you will devote yourselves to (working for) the good of your land and good will ensue. Perform the worship along with friends every month, and augment your zeal by uttering (repeatedly) *Bande Mataram* * * *

When the Mother's warning and good counsel entered into the ears (of her sons) their sleep was dispelled at the sweet sound of *Bande Mataram*, comparable to nectar. Her sons, awakened to the light of knowledge by the reproof, opening their eyes saw that their heart's blood had, alas! been stolen away and that they had been deprived of their Mother's wealth. Spirit, and heroism and strength—all had vanished; they had nothing more to fall back on. On all sides they looked and saw that (the prospect) was full of darkness. They could not think out any way out (of their predicament). They, boys and young men, feeling a new strength, came to be roused to enthusiasm: soon they gird up their loins and give up everything *Bilati*. Men devoted to the service of the country, leaders of society, and high-minded men who were good leaders, all combined whole-heartedly with the boys and directed their attention to the good of the country. By worshipping *Sakti* with due offerings, the errors of the mind have vanished away to a distance. Let all combine to do good to the country and cry out *Bande Mataram* out of the depths of your hearts. The spell of sleep was broken, the night of delusion broke into dawn, and the light of knowledge broke forth. The men and women of Bengal seeing that the night was coming to a close, awoke to a new state of feeling. Meetings and assemblies were held—it was (a) strangely beautiful (sight), flags of various hues fluttered. Patriots came forward to do good to the country. By means of

sweet speeches they explained particularly the sad predicament of the country, and they urged the abandonment of things *Bilati* for the improvement of (indigenous) industries and for the good of the country. Very quickly, the agitation spread over town and hamlet, every one firmly vowed to conserve the country's wealth in the country (itself), and to boycott (things) *Bilati*. Regarding the day of the Partition of Bengal as a holy day, there was no cooking (on that day) in any home. They cordially fastened yellow threads round their wrists. Brethren all in unison came to be roused to enthusiasm over a great festival, crying out *Bande Mataram*. In talking of things *Swadeshi* and singing *Swadeshi* songs, the day passed away most joyously. The hatred of things *Bilati* spread from home to home in an instant's time like a lightning (flash). Women, boys and old men all gave up *Bilati* merchandise, by the grace (*lit.*, boon) of *Mahasakti*—*Adya Sakti*. Glass bangles were smashed up and *Bilati saris* were torn up by Bengali ladies, the presiding deities of their homes. The boy in anger threw away *Bilati* toys to a distance to the refuse heap. The agitation spread all over India in an instant, like a lightning flash. Over the whole country the Mother's message was solemnly proclaimed for the good of the country. In the west, the Punjabi Lajpat, a hater of the *Feringhis*, in the south the high-souled Gokhale, in the East, Aswini Babu, Leikut Hossain and Abu betook themselves earnestly to the great vow. The foreign merchants, looking at this agitation and brag (*lit.*, prancing), at first thought that the Bengalis were strong only in words, were like water or the lotus-leaf, that their minds would not remain steadfast in any case. Now they look and see that this time (their resolve) was not confined to professions only, that the resolution of the Bengalis was unshaken, that terrible waves had been set up, wherewith Eastern Bengal was agitated and whereunder Barisal was reeling. The doubts in their mind were dispelled, the mills at Manchester had stopped; seeing this, their minds became sorely anxious; taking counsel all together they sought the help of the Ruling Power in order to preserve their own interests. They tried only to lull us again to sleep with pacifying assurances, chastisements, etc. They threatened us with the bogeyman, occasionally gave us a slap and at times they passed their hand (caressingly) over our heads. A party of Musalmans, not seeing through the deception, were quite overcome by this endearment. Getting the honour of a favourite wife they were again lulled to sleep by the lullaby. The ungovernable Hindus created a great row, and would not go to sleep by any means. They did not prove amenable to chastisement. At last rigorous laws were introduced, but still they did not go to sleep. They put up with thrusts from the baton, some perhaps got their heads smashed (therewith)—they fell on the heads (of people) because of the anger of the rulers. People began wailing under injustice and oppression. Punitive police were quartered. Seeing the spirit in the country, *Adya Sakti* manifested herself in the hearts of her sons. She counselled all to add to their zeal of spirit, granting them spirit, heroism and strength. All of you open your eyes and see what a terrible, most frightful, place of trial stretches before you. With the utmost zeal try to emerge successfully out of it. Do not forget *Bande Mataram*. The followers of the King, seeing this boycotting of things foreign, laboured heart and soul in the hope of tying (the people) with the coils of the sleep of ignorance. They committed no end of oppression and unjust harassment and terrible severity. The images of goddesses, and the chastity of virtuous women, were repeatedly violated. Bazars were looted, as were kutcherry houses under the control of zamindars. Alas, at last, because of the wrong methods of doing justice, innocent men fell into trouble, some got imprisoned, upon the heads of some the stroke of the rod fell violently. Meetings were broken up, hands and legs got fractured at the hands of the unruly police. Severe strokes of the same fell on the backs of boys with a great show of power. Some suddenly got transported through serious injustice. Patriots falling into the meshes of the law for petty offences got always seriously punished and suffered various forms of oppression. The stream of oppression will go on flowing in your country thus still longer, do not get frightened and become impatient and lose self-control, let the vow you have taken continue quite unshaken in your minds for life: the strength conferred by an unshakable patience is the only resource in days of terrible crisis: no matter how terrible repression may come to be, let everybody continue united, firm and immovable, bracing up all hearts with strength. He who, not obeying my behest, takes (things) *Bilati* will by my curse come to lose sons and wife who are as the apple of his eye. His prosperity will vanish, his dangers will be aggravated, and he will get harassed in society. All his religious observances will go for nothing, and ultimately he will jeopardise his (destiny) in after-life. Do not look at the faces of those men, who are a disgrace to their families, who deal in things *Bilati*, either in the morning or when you are about to start on a journey. Those who having lost self-control have made common cause (*lit.*, mingled) with the foreign merchant will, after some time, feel repentant, their delusion having been dispelled. As for them who have lost their senses, having been overcome by the endearments they are the recipients of, listen now to this story of what their fate will be, what consequences they will suffer.

* * * * *

The son of a London cultivator came out to India for agricultural purposes. His name was David, and he was a most industrious man, cool-headed and resolute, well-skilled in the art of agriculture.

Travelling over various parts of India he looked about for a particularly fertile piece of land. He came across (such a piece of land) amidst an extensive field. He found existing an area of land (here) fit for cultivation. Taking over an extensive plot of land, he set about ploughing it: watering the soil methodically he sowed sprouts of the sugar-cane plant in rows. The plant grew vigorously, having been tended and looked after, and made a unique show of beauty pleasing to the eye. In due time, the sugar-canes attained maturity, and came to be full of sweet juice. David continued to be present always on the field, with his heart elated with joy at the prospect of immense profits. Only at midday he used to remain for two hours only in his own home in order to take his meals. At this time two Indian friends came to town on business. One was a Musalman and the other a Hindu. A feeling of love had grown up between the two since boyhood. When the one is in trouble, the other stakes his life, tries his best to remove his difficulties. The hearts of the two were attached to each other,—they had one indivisible soul, as in the case of Hari and Har. When wandering about, they came across the field, the sun was over their heads, shedding terrible rays as though to consume the immense universe. Their throats were parched with thirst, and their bodies weary. The two friends (therefore) sat down under a tree. They saw not a drop of water anywhere. For want of water life was about to depart from their bodies. With eyes of despair they cast glances on all sides and in front they espied the sugar-cane field. Consulting among themselves the two stepped into the field, and picking out the sugar-canes, began twisting them off. At this stage, David arrived at the place, and saw them damaging the sugar-cane field. Cane in hand this son of a *Feringhi* rushed forth, in dire anger, to chastise the two. Vanquished by the combined strength of the two David sat down alone and began to think (thus), I shall create dissension between the two and punish each separately.

Reflecting thus, he cordially called up the Musalman and instilled confidentially into his ears the counsels of dissension; said he: Listen, brother, to what I say; I shall please your heart by supplying you with sugar-cane juice. I am sorry to see how you have behaved. Why have you associated with a *Kafir* (heretic)? If you enter their homes, they throw away water pots and cooking utensils, etc. From (feelings of) loathing he will never come to your home. If rarely he does come, he remains fasting. For (myself) I am content to eat the food you cook, and I eat the onion which is (so) palatable. I have a great liking for you—if you think of it, we are both of the same race. Come on, now, let us both combine to kill the *Kafir* and (then) joyously drink the juice (of the sugar-cane) together. The *Yavan* listening to the *Feringhi's* flattering words was overcome as by a spell. Under temptation, the rope of affection snapped; having been treated with affection, he came to forget friendship and love. David then, having made the Musalman docile, began roaring out in a deep voice with eyes red with fury. Seizing the Hindu by the hair he thrashed him, struck him with a rod, slapped him and kicked him. His friend did not come near to help him, but stood looking by at a distance and laughing. The Hindu unable to put up with (the chastisement), fled to a distance beyond ken in haste, with the speed of an arrow. The *Feringhi* then seizing the *Yavan* by the ear, began threatening and thrashing severely. In dire anger, he said: You mischievously disposed thief, I will fracture your skull and your hands and feet. You two were together in unity; that was why I did not say anything until now. Now you are alone like the fool you are. I shall see now who saves your life. He struck him on the back with clenched fists and with his kicks ruptured his spleen. He lay insensible on the field and sense came back to him only after a long time. Restored to sense, and having acquired a divine insight, so to speak, he saw before him the fate of (those who) lacked unity. With a repentant heart he said in piteous voice: Alas! if we two friends had remained bound in unity, in accord with each other, would this bad man, this *Feringhi*, son of a cultivator, have been able to bring us to such a predicament? After learning policy and good sense by bitter experience, he began speaking (thus), addressing his own people: Listen my brethren, to my last appeal. Live in concord with *swadeshi*. There is no harm if the religious observances of the Musalman, the Hindu, the Sikh and the Christian people are different. In order to uphold the interests of your own country, you should all with one accord bestir yourself. Else you will be reduced to my predicament. And each of you will be destroyed singly. Saying this much, he collapsed into insensibility, and after some time, closed his eyes for ever. Sons, see now the harm caused by the absence of unity. Stake your lives on trying to bind yourselves by unity. Unity is itself an incomparable source of great strength. Saying all this, *Adya Sakti Durga* disappeared. The Mother instils into the heart of her sons the capacity to suffer with patience. Utter loudly the cry of *Bande Mataram*. By the gift of *Adya sakti* strength was infused into the body and the sons of India became enthusiastic with zeal. They called on Mother India to awake, (but) the Mother insensible in sleep did not respond. They resorted to endless means to bring Mother India back to sense. Ultimately they all took counsel together and thought of trying to establish *Svaraj*. The Mother awoke at the cries of her sons, (who) had uttered the cry of *Bande Mataram* very loudly. Seeing her sons dying of starvation, her soft heart felt a severe pang. Having been wounded in the heart, Mother India weeps and so gives vent to the torment in the core of her being. Though I have three hundred million sons, I am still in this helpless condition—Alas, O God, what sport of thine is this! When the Aryans crossing the five rivers (of the Punjab) came carrying the torch of knowledge, the mind and the heart were cooled by the fine equal time and tune of the sweet *Vedic* songs, they came making

the earth quake under their heroic tread, in order to fetter India with their own strength. Without any dread in their hearts they sounded the drum of victory carrying the flag of conquest in their hands. They established cities after killing the *Asuras* (demons) and the *Rakshasas* (demons) in furious battles. They did not harbour in their minds any pride arising from differences of caste, their men and women were strung (together) by unity. What was their spirit, prowess and strength of arm! They were peerless on earth and unconquerable. Possessing an incomparable knowledge of Science they used to roam over the air, earth and water in conveyances of their own make. They made a piece of stone float on the waters and thereby displayed the strength of their intelligence: they bridged the ocean; by inventing systems of astrology and mathematics, they (almost) achieved the impossible. And (yet) how many were they, when they came to India? At present I see that you have multiplied a hundred crores of times; whichever way I turn my eyes, I see countless sons (of mine) reduced to bone and skin, worn and thin, devoid of spirit, prowess and strength; with their frames lean for want of food, they wail out in a state of starvation. The pride due to difference of caste separates brother from brother, and is leading to any number of improprieties. Having sacrificed piety and propriety of observances they form themselves into cliques; there is no mutual unity. Alas, caught amidst a cyclone, one is pulling at the rope or plying the oar the while that the other is rowing (the boat) in the reverse direction. The foreign merchants, assuming the form of bloodsucking vampires, finding me insensible, are freely sucking out my blood and drinking it—Alas, that this should be the fate of one who has three hundred million sons! They have left me (devoid of) substance within. My sons, under a spell of ignorance, do not turn back their eyes and see the thief stealing away the mother's property. The unruly *Feringhis* commit various acts of oppression—my heart cannot suffer it all any more—my unfortunate sons are dying of starvation. Alas, alas, for lack of unity. Listen, O sons, stake all your lives on keeping me in full possession of my senses so that I may not fall back to sleep again after having been roused once, thanks to the disappointing nature of your *Karma*. Hearing Mother India's words, her piteous wails, her worthy sons say: We entreat thee, clasping thee by the feet, O mother, do not weep: to listen to thee makes our hearts burst: your sorrows shall not be any more. Having worshipped *Adya Sakti* we have gained a new strength, have come across the most secret *mantra* (principle): we can now yield up our lives to subserve your good, saying *Bande Mataram* the while.

A song.

[In the tune of (the song commencing) Man Hari Hari Bala.]

Let all say *Bande Mataram* in unison by virtue of the Mother's name, and all delusions will be dispelled. Casting aside all honour and pride betake yourselves now to (striving for) the good of the country in accord; opening your eyes once see the most loved land of your birth descending to the nether regions. She has become a beggar woman. The merchants, all supplying *Bilati* salt, piece-goods, etc., are robbing the country of her substance and her wealth. The only cure for this consumption from which your country is suffering is the boycott of (things) *Bilati*. This will alleviate the complaint. Give up using (things) *Bilati*. Brethren, unite all, take this vow, choose between the successful accomplishment of your *mantra* (principle) and the collapse of your body. Never forget this great principle. Practise it in your minds and with your lips, say *Bande Mataram* lifting up your arms.

The end.

(Sd.) KUNJA BEHARI ROY.

EXHIBIT No. 92 (d).

O *Feringhi*, are we afraid any more of thy reddened eyes? At the call of the Mother, thirty crores of brothers have stood upright. We have united at the Mother's summons. We have come to know our own Mother as she really is; we have clasped our Mother by the feet, and the destroyer of woes will remove our sorrows.

We have braced up our heart with courage, we have come to forget mutual hatred, we have offered up our lives at the Mother's feet, we shall not again part contact with (those) feet. We have been initiated into the creed of the Mother. We have been trained to (the use of) quiver and sword. Mukunda will undergo a test: the Goddess Tara knows whether he will come successfully out of it.

MUKUNDA LAL DAS.

We shall constantly sing *Bande Mataram*. If we die with (that) name (on our lips) we shall attain to immortality, to paradise incomparable. The sweet name which we have all got we shall go on singing as long as we are on earth. We no longer obey unlawful orders—we are little afraid of a reddening of the eyes (in fury). Dost thou think by means of strokes with the *lathi* thou wilt make us forget to say "Mother"? So long as breath remains in our bodies, that expectation will never be fulfilled. We had been under the spell of sleep, in bed at ease, till somebody seemed to pour nectar into our ears, which entered into the core of our beings and roused us (so that) our everlasting sleep was dispelled.

Om.

See, O Indians, the sword (suspended) from the garland of gems round the throat of that Woman with dishevelled hair (i.e., the Goddess Kali) has begun trembling. Says this MUKUNDA: Whom do I fear any more? Victory, Victory, sound the trumpet! Advance, Indians, let us proceed and see once who has struck the Mother's limbs with the sword. Still you remain sitting? Seize a sword with your hands. Let us have the experience once of swimming amidst the waves of warfare. We have twenty crores of sons present in the Mother's home. If one crore (of us) take up our stand, we dare anybody to vanquish them; you will be able sportively to destroy with the sword the race of your enemies on the occasion of the break-up of Bengal. How can those sons of Aryas who used to conquer in battle the three worlds (Heaven, Earth and Hell) now put up with the Mother's sorrows? I know it for certain that you do not remember them, Bhishma and Drona, Bhim and Arjun, infuriate in battle like elephants.

Everybody on earth has awakened; it is you alone who have not awoken: the son of India's destiny will sink for ever. Fie! Fie to you! a hundred times. . . you are still asleep . . . elephants though you are, you are afraid to kill insects.

If there be anybody on earth who calls himself a son of the Mother, if anybody's heart on earth weeps for the Mother, let him come rushing forward, so that I may show everybody on earth that that Arya (of old) still survives in that (old) Bengal . . . Mukunda Das.

Brethren, let us see you all call on the Mother.* If the son weeps, calling out the Mother's name, can the Mother remain (indifferent to the cry)? Mother Kulakundalini (i.e., *Sakti* the Goddess Durga) will awake, strength will be called forth (*lit.*, awake), our hearts will expand, you will be able to yield up your lives for the country's sake.

Trusting (yourselves) to the boat of the Mother's auspicious feet, float your boat; then will the Mother be your helmsman; you need not be afraid: you will be ferried quickly and easily over the boundless ocean.

Radha Charan Chakravarti.
Gopal Chandra Chakravarti.
Rakhal Chandrá Chakravarti.
Bhola Nath Chakravarti.
Bhupal Chandra Chakravarti.

(Sd.) RUNJA BEHARI ROY.

EXHIBIT 92 (G).

PICTURES OF JAPAN.

The Bengali and Japanese.

A Japanese who knew the condition of Bengal asked a Bengali sojourner in Japan, "Are there no men in your country?" The Bengali gentleman said in reply, "If there be none, what then are we?" The Japanese said, "You are men so long as you remain in this country, but as soon as you go back to your own country, you part with your manliness." Indeed the estimate that the foreigner had made of our nature is true, every word of it. Our long-standing subjugation has made us lose all the manly virtues. I shall feel gratified if after reading and listening to the stories which are narrated in this book our boys and youths endeavour to acquire a manly spirit.

The training of the Bengali and the training of the Japanese.

According to the custom prevailing in Japan, every Japanese boy, when he comes to be sixteen years of age, has to spend one night in the cemetery. This one night's training rids the Japanese of all imaginary fear. By virtue of this training the Japanese are all through their lives never afraid of going anywhere even during awfully dark nights, nor does their hair stand on end by their seeing imaginary ghosts and ghouls in the shadows of trees. The Bengali boy, on the other hand, receives such a bad training during his childhood that he finds it very difficult to stir out of his house on a dark night. In his childhood, he learns from his mother that ghosts dwell in large banyan, aswattha (pipal) and palm trees, and that ghosts and ghouls walk about in large forests and on the banks of large tanks. The Bengali youth cannot undo this evil training even after acquiring high education. He imagines the presence of ghosts if he hears the sound of his own footsteps on a dark night. The Jap has become fearless by virtue of good training. When will the day come when the Bengali will become free from fear after receiving the training which the Jap gets!

I do not cry in grief for my son.

A certain lady in Japan had three sons. The three patriotic sons got their mother's permission and went to fight for their mother-country. Hearing of the death of the three sons one after the other, the mother was crying loudly. Hearing her cries a female neighbour said to her in order to console her, "Sister, one ought not to weep, for a son who dies on the battle-field. Your sons have become glorified by dying in battle. Do not do them harm by crying for them." Hearing her words of consolation, the lady said, "Sister, am I crying in grief for my sons? I have not a single son more; what grieves me is the thought as to whom I should send to serve his country on the battle-field. It is this thought which overcomes me to-day." Bravo, mother. Bravo the country also where the jewel of a woman like you was born!

The Patriotic Hana.

Miss Hana, a student of the Fukushima Girls' High School, received eight gold coins (Nishikins) from her mother when she (the mother) was dying. The mother asked her daughter to get a ring made of those coins and wear it on the finger. When the war between Russia and Japan was begun, the patriotic Hana thought it better to help the country with those coins rather than using them for providing herself with a luxury. She sent the eight coins to the War Fund and wrote to say that she would feel herself gratified if this small gift of hers was accepted. Bravo, Girl! You have beaten even the old in patriotism. May your example bring back again those days of India's past glory.

A boy's and request.

Masanari Okca was an eight year old Japanese boy. He saved a sum of about fourteen rupees out of the money he had received from his parents for pocket expenses.

When the Russo-Japanese war was begun the boy made a gift of that money to the Government and wrote to say, "I want to go to the war, but I am very young in age. Please accept this poor gift of mine knowing that it has my parent's consent, and buy ammunition with it so that we may be victorious in this war. When we gain victory, please let me have a sword as reward." It strikes one with wonder to see what an animosity an eight year old boy cherishes in his heart against the enemies of his own country. And the idea of a child, who should spend his time in play, asking for reward a sharp-edged sword!

The Triumph of Patriotism.

Narikata was a first class sailor. He received a summons to go to sea on a war-vessel. The Japanese never go to serve their country on the battle-field with any regard for their life. Just before leaving home Narikata called his wife to him. He took his new-born baby and placed it in her arms. His countenance soon assumed a solemn

aspect and he said to his wife, "I am going to the war, there is no certainty as to my coming back. When you get the news of my death, marry again." Saying this he placed a divorce letter in her hand. He could not bear with his wife's tears and rushed out of his house. (On one side there were conjugal love and paternal affection, on the other patriotism. It was patriotism which won the fight. Bravo, Jap! May your example open the eyes of the Bengali of the 20th century, who is vain of his education and lives confined within the wall of his house, and may he enter into the field of action making you his ideal.

Yearning for life in order to fight.

One Fuji is a naval officer. The enemies' gun-shot has pierced both his legs. Lying on his death-bed he says, "I do not care for death, but death has come too soon. My life has been short. I wished to fight a little longer before I died." The Jap wishes for long life so that he may fight, whereas we do not like to go out of our homes for fear of our lives.

A petition written in blood.

Five steamers were sunk for the purpose of blocking the passage of the Russian war-ships which were lying in Port Arthur. It makes one's hair stand on end when one hears a description of it. As soon as Admiral Togo called for men two thousand persons sent in their applications, although they knew that those who would be engaged in this difficult task would have to do so after giving up all hopes of life. Many of those men wrote their applications with the blood of their own bodies, in order to express the eagerness of their hearts for this work. The Bengali youth, who is vain of his civilization, may think this to be barbarous, but it is a matter for thinking and not for writing, with what a deep patriotism one should be inspired so that such a thing may be possible. The firmness of these heroic men causes fear even in demons, to say nothing of such insignificant beings as men.

The animosity of a child against Russia and his love for his own country.

In Japan if a mother tells her child who happens to be crying that she will make him over to the Russians he becomes quiet immediately. If anybody reproves a child by calling him a Russian, the child immediately replies, "I am a Japanese." While even a Jap child takes pride in being called a Japanese, quite the contrary is the case in Bengal. But by God's mercy the atmosphere of the country has changed a little.

The courtesy of the Japanese.

The fact that the Japanese are a heroic nation has not made their hearts hard as stone. Their affection, love and generosity charm one greatly. One cannot help praising and respecting them just for their genial behaviour. They are fond of mixing freely and making friends with everybody, be he their own countryman or be he a foreigner. A certain Indian who was travelling in a tramcar, found, on being asked to pay his fare, that he had nothing on him excepting a note to the value of seven rupees and eight annas. At the same time the ticket-collector did not have enough money for changing the note. A Japanese college-student, who was sitting on the other end of the car, bought two tickets, came up to the Indian, and saluting him said, "Sir, I shall be obliged if you kindly take this ticket; it is for you that I have bought it." The gentleman was obdurate and so the Indian could not help taking the ticket. The Japanese student and the Indian student got out at the same time station, but the former would by no means accept the price of the ticket. On the other hand he asked the name and address of the Indian student and went away, after promising to see him now and then. In Japan if any one searches for the way to go from one place to another the Japs generally see him safe to his destination. This sort of politeness has become to the Japanese a second nature. The very thought of the selfishness which our youths and boys show in railway cars and on steamers strikes one with shame. I hope that by God's grace their attention will be directed to this lesson which they may learn from the Japanese.

The Games of Japanese boys.

In many places in Japan there are elevated areas like hills. Many boys, five or six years old, meet there for play. One of their games is called "The battle of Port Arthur." Every boy comes dressed as a soldier and with a gun in hand. On coming up to one of these places they begin to sound bugles and the sound makes everybody come up running. Some of them take their posts at the foot of the hill and some on the top. A fight takes place between the two parties. Then the troops who are at the bottom of the hill ascend to the top shouting the triumphant cry of "Banzai, Banzai," and unfurl the Japanese national flag. Is it strange that a people who receive such a training from their childhood should be victorious in battle?

The Patriotism of a coachman.

Any amount of education in a subjugated country cannot make the human nature as high and noble as it is if it grows in an atmosphere of independence. The little self-sacrifice which an illiterate coachman can make in an independent country deserves to be imitated even by well-educated persons in a subjugated country. Every Japanese, whether rich or poor, educated or illiterate, served his country in some way or other during the Russo-Japanese war. Even a poor coachman felt during these times very anxious to do something for his country. One day he found three members of the War-Council waiting for a carriage. He then went up to them, took them up in his carriage, and reaching them to their destination, drove away. All the pressing requests which they made to him for taking his fare were in vain. All that he said was "you are engaged in doing good to the mother-country; I want to feel gratified by rendering you some help in this task. Please do not deprive me of the pleasure." The situation in which even an uneducated coachman thinks that he has a country which is his own, and that there is something for him to do for it, is a thing which the Bengali can only imagine but never truly conceive.

The Jap's love of Education.

In India those who have some property, either in money or in lands, do not care much for education. At the same time people of lower classes who earn money by bodily labour cannot at all conceive of the necessity of getting any education. This is not the case with Japan, where everybody from the Prince to the man of low class feels the necessity of receiving education. The Princes are labouring hard both in their own country and in foreign countries for the purpose of receiving education. Even Prince Khannil and Prince Arimugaoa, who are now well known all over the world, did not stop after finishing the education they had received in Japan alone. They also studied in England for a long time and then returned to their country. So great is the love of the Japanese for education that 40 or 50 years ago many of them used to go to Europe and America privately even as mehtars or by spending money lavishly, receive many kinds of technical education, and on return establish factories for those industries and commerce. It is not a very easy thing to receive technical education in a foreign country, but the zeal and perseverance of Jap are not to be shaken easily. Bands of youths are going to foreign countries learning industries, science, politics, political economy, agriculture, military art, engineering, etc., and devoting their lives to the noble service of their own country. No nation can advance without a real love for education. When will that day come when the Indian will break through the narrow boundaries of society, go about like a free bird from country to country, in order to obtain pure knowledge and resuscitate the lost glory of India?

The Japanese and beggars.

The glory of charity is described in the scripture of every country in very brilliant language. The person who makes a gift is glorified, but one ought also to think how low down the soul of the man, who has to accept a gift, sinks. No noble undertaking can be performed in the world by the person who is devoid of all sense of honour and lives upon the food given to him by others. In the present age there is no country which has fallen low like Spain and India. That is why nowhere in the world one finds such a large number of beggars as there are in this country. The Buddhists are second to no other community in the world as regards charity. But the Buddhist-Japanese does not encourage beggars at all. In Japan even blind men go about in the street playing on flutes. The idea of playing on flutes is that they want some work. Some give them money after getting themselves massaged by them. In that country it is very difficult to obtain money without doing any work, and even very old people try to earn something by some means or other.

If one section of a community always remains dependent upon the other and consumes the money earned by it, the fall of that community is inevitable.

In a battle during the Russo-Japanese war a doctor was tending wounded soldiers. Suddenly a ball fell and broke his shinbone. But he had to come to the field with the weight of such a serious duty on his shoulders that he had no time for rest or recreation. The pain of others even moved him so much as to make him forget his own pain. The wailings of the wounded soldiers and their cries of pain made him quite restless. Then like a true hero he took a saw in his own hand, cut off the broken leg, bandaged it with his own hands, and soon came forward to do his duty. Like an angel from heaven he went to the wounded and prescribed medicine for them and applied it. Not for a moment was any sign of pain on his face. The godly character of this hero deserves the serious thought of those who shudder at the sight of (even) a drop of blood, and who, if their feet happens to be pricked with a thorn, forget all their duties and become restless with pain.

The diligence of the Japanese.

Diligence is a special virtue of the Japs; most of the places in Japan are covered with hills and mountains. It seems as if it is for this reason that God has created the Japanese, making them fit for the land they dwell in. Even girls, 12 or 14 years old, can walk 10 or 12 miles with wooden shoes on their feet and carrying their younger brothers or sisters tied on their backs with cloth. In some places they even cross small hills. In mills and factories the labourers work at the rate of 15 hours a day. There is a great dearth of horses and cows here, and so even carriages are drawn by men. The Americans, who used to mock them saying that they did the work of horses and cows, are now singing in many ways the praise of the Japs' diligence. A proposal has been set on foot to employ Japanese labourers for excavating the Panama Canal, because they are extraordinarily diligent. They do not desist from any kind of laborious work whatever. At the root of all this prosperity of the Japanese is their diligence. Indeed, it is labour which begets prosperity. Consequently no nation which desists from labour can succeed in attaining real prosperity.

Japanese Ambition.

In Japan, any person belonging to any family can by virtue of his education and intelligence occupy the highest place in society. Hence the mass of population as a whole cherish very high aspirations. If asked as to what they will do in the future, school and college students say, "I shall graduate here, next go to America, Germany, France, or England and study in the University there, and then return to my country and serve it." Some say, "I shall go to different countries in the world as a merchant and be engaged in trade." The students of military schools say, "If we are skilled in the art of war we have the right of becoming even generals." The full development of genius is possible only where the door of advancement is open to every member of the society. The path of the Indian's advancement is blocked on all sides, and hence their genius dries up like a river in a desert before it can proceed even a short distance.

Love for the people.

One's heart shudders when one hears of the thousands and thousands of Japanese who have been rendered blind, lame, deaf, crippled and unfit for work. But the country for which they were ready to sacrifice their lives has not forgotten them. The Japanese were overflowing with gratitude to them and are honouring them in various ways. That king and that queen, to render whom glorious they considered no pain whatever as pain, are with hearts full of affection and love maintaining them as if they were their own children. One's heart is filled with joy when one hears of the story of the kind-hearted Japanese queen's love for her people and her charity. Moved by womanly tenderness and motherly affection, she is showing her kindness in many ways to every sick and miserable person in Japan. Of late she has been led by her kindness towards her blind and lame soldiers to provide them at her own cost with 984 artificial eyes and 1,797 artificial hands. The person, who, even in the midst of his own prosperity, does not forget the misery of others, is a god in this world. The Japanese have, as it were, sold themselves for ever to their king and queen because of their kindness and love.

Loyalty.

The Japs respect and esteem their Mikado whom they consider a god. Hundreds of Japanese are ready to die at his order. They think that they will obtain the right to go to Heaven if they can kiss the dust of his feet. It is said in Japan that he is descended from the Gods, and the Japs still worship him as a god. The mention of a single incident will prove the intensity of the Japs' loyalty. At the time when the Japanese residents of the Port of Vladivostok were closing their shops and returning to their own country just before the Russo-Japanese War, they showed greater regard for a portrait of their beloved Emperor than all sorts of riches and gems. For fear lest the infuriated (literally, maddened) Russian soldiers should insult or disgrace their Emperor's portrait in any way they guarded it as they went along with drawn swords in hand. In a country where the sovereign can sacrifice everything for the welfare of his people, it is but natural that the people should prize the sovereign's honour higher than every kind of riches and gems.

The heroic mother and the heroic son.

According to the rules laid down by the Emperor of Japan, who bears the name of the Mikado, a son who is the sole support of his mother is never allowed to go to the battlefield. A certain Japanese youth was one day sitting before his mother with his face hanging down with anxious thoughts. Being sorry to see the countenance of her son the mother asked, "My son, why do I find you so anxious and gloomy?" The patriotic youth replied, "Mother, I wished to serve my Mother-country as a soldier, but as the only son of my mother I have been deprived of that privilege by the rules made by the King. It must have been at an auspicious moment that these painful words of the son fell on the mother's ears. The pure fire of patriotism was kindled in her heart. She did not

open her lips again, but taking up the sword of her departed husband which was hanging by ran it through her own breast. She lifted again that sharp-edged sword which was reddened with the blood of her own heart, placed in her son's hand and said, "Go my son, the thorn that there was in the path of your serving your country is now removed; glorify your life now by gladly dedicating yourself to the service of your mother-country." The fortunate, heroic woman departed to the abode of Bliss enjoying the heavenly happiness born of pure self-sacrifice. Without waiting for a moment, that worthy son of the mother went out with the sword, given him by his mother, in hand, to kill the enemies of his country. Alas! when will such a mother be born in India? When again shall we find on the lap of mother Bengal such jewels of youths?

Fortitude.

The stories of the fortitude of Japanese soldiers are very wonderful. They readily bear bodily pain which makes a man restless and senseless. An incident may be cited as a proof of this. Lieutenant Machumura was wounded and brought to the Sasebo Hospital. There was a wound an inch deep and five inches long on his left arm, but the Lieutenant did not part with his colour at all, nor did he lose his cheerfulness in the least. We shudder at the sight of the surgeon's lancet, but he stretched his arm at his (the surgeon's) order. The surgeon began to take out rotten bits of flesh from the wound, but the Lieutenant did not even for once contract his eyebrows, nor did he utter a single cry of pain. He was asked how he could bear with such a severe agony. In reply he said that the pain was really unbearable, but he felt it a great shame to express it before the onlookers. In Japan instances of heroes possessing such fortitude are not one or two, but hundreds and hundreds. True that it is an act of heroism to face the cannon amidst the intoxication of the battle-field; but to bear with pain in silence is an act of greater heroism.

Bande Mataram.

APPENDIX B 5.

SUPPLY OF ARMS FROM CHANDERNAGORE.

STATEMENT OF No. 208, 1912.

Formerly the headquarters of the samiti (Anusilan) used to get their supply (of arms) from French Chandernagore, but at present they do not get anything from that side. The main supply now comes from thefts.

STATEMENT OF No. 125, 1916.

He also introduced me at this time to Tinkari Banarji, of Chandernagore, who used to supply revolvers and *Jugantar* leaflets and other seditious books.

STATEMENT OF No. 363, 1917.

I used to purchase guns and revolvers from Chandernagore and Calcutta through the members of the party.

STATEMENT OF No. 58, 1916.

About three days ago or so Tulsi brought one day two revolvers from Chandernagore. He did not tell me from whom he got these revolvers, but he said that the person who was in possession of arms and ammunition there was not found at Chandernagore then.

STATEMENT OF No. 72, 1916.

Shortly after the Chatrabaria dacoity, Tulsi Ghosh and Ashutosh Paramanik went to Chandernagore and purchased two revolvers and 220 cartridges from a youth whose name I have forgotten.

STATEMENT OF No. 57, 1916.

The day on which this discussion took place Naren Chaudhuri sent Kiran to Chandernagore with Rs. 100 to arrange for revolvers and bombs with the help of Biren De.

STATEMENT OF No. 193, 1916.

Rash Bihari was to use Benares as a base, and arms and bombs were to be sent from Bengal to Benares and thence up-country. Srish Ghosh said almost all the Chandernagore bombs and 100 revolvers had been sent to Benares.

STATEMENT OF No. 357, 1908.

Harendra Nath Chaudhuri told me that he would procure revolvers from Satish Basu, of the Anusilan Samiti.

APPENDIX B 6 (i).

FIRST VOW.

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT XX (1).—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

OM BANDE MATARAM.

Adya Pratijna.

1. (a) I will never separate myself from this Samiti.
 (b) Wherever I may happen to be I will always spare no pains and try my level best for the sake of the progress of the Samiti.
 (c) I will never do anything which may do harm to the Samiti.
 (d) I will instantly inform the authorities (of the Samiti) if I see any probability of injury to the Samiti, and if anyone breaks his vow I will spare no pains and try my level best for the remedy thereof.
2. (a) I will always keep my character pure and immaculate.
 (b) I will take special care and make special efforts to make my mind and body firm and strong.
 (c) I will shun fear, knowing it to be a low tendency.
3. (a) I will not harbour any enmity towards any individual belonging to this Samiti.
 (b) We, all the brethren of the Samiti, will be bound by the tie of union.
 (c) We will protect one another from (all possible) dangers.
 (d) And with an eye to mutual benefit, we will be resolved to work out the welfare of the country and gradually of the world.
4. (a) I will pardon any member of the Samiti who may incur my displeasure.
 (b) I will not cherish any hatred towards anybody.
 (c) I will try to bring to the right path anyone who goes astray and will act under orders of the Parichalak with a view to chastise and correct him.
5. (a) I will always be under the rules of the Samiti.
 (b) I will carry out the orders of the authorities without saying a word.
 (c) I will never conceal anything from the leader and will never speak anything but the truth to him.
 (d) And I will be present for work at the appointed hour and will try to do it.
6. (a) I will never neglect or show indifference to the learning of gymnastics or drill of the Samiti.
 (b) I will never, without the permission of the Samiti, teach the gymnastics and arts of self-defence taught in the Samiti to anyone who is not one of its members.
 (c) I will not learn anything anywhere breaking the rules, etc., of the Samiti and its vows.

SECOND VOW.*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT XX (9).—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE:

OM BANDE MATARAM.

Antya Pratijna.

1. I will not divulge any internal matters whatsoever of the samiti to anyone, nor will I ever discuss those matters unnecessarily.

2. I will never act in opposition to the method of procedure of the samiti. I will always act under the Parichalak of the samiti. I will instantly and thoroughly carry out whatever orders he may pass at any time.

3. I will never move from one place to another without informing the Parichalak. I will not keep the Parichalak uninformed of the place and the circumstances I may be in at any time. I will instantly inform the Parichalak should the existence of any sort of conspiracy against the samiti come to my knowledge and, under his orders, will try to remedy it.

4. I will instantly come back in obedience to the Parichalak's command, no matter in what circumstances I may happen to be at the time. If, owing to any serious physical or natural obstacle, I fail to turn up, I will at once apply to the Parichalak, bringing the matter to his notice and will return as soon as the obstacle is got over.

5. I will not consider any kind of work humiliating. For the work of the samiti I will not entertain feelings of hatred, shame or fear. I will entirely rid myself of the fear of popular opprobrium. I will not cherish even a grain of the desire of attaining celebrity. I will not be jealous of anyone seeing him outstrip me and acquire fame. Without caring in the least either for fame or opprobrium and thoroughly giving up argumentative discussion and loquacity, I will go on discharging my duties with seriousness, patience and perseverance, and will never shrink from exhibiting self-abnegation, self-sacrifice and liberality for the work of the samiti.

6. I will never be at liberty to teach any of those subjects with respect to which I may receive instruction in this samiti, under oath to anyone save those persons who are bound by oath as regards these subjects.

FIRST SPECIAL VOW.*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT XX (2).—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

OM BANDE MATARAM.

In the name of God, mother, father, preceptor, leader and Almighty I make this vow that—

(1) I will not go away leaving this circle until its object (until the object of the Samiti) is fulfilled. I will not be bound by the tie of affection for father, mother, brother, sister, hearth and home, etc., and I will, without putting forward any excuse, perform all the work of the circle under orders of the leader. I will do all work in a steady and serious manner, giving up loquacity and fickleness.

(2) I will never in my life indulge in any kind of smoking or the use of narcotics nor do any kind of improper action, such as masturbation, unnatural sexual intercourse with man, sexual intercourse with maidens, widows, prostitutes, and I will try that my friends, relations and kinsmen may not be guilty of those faults.

(3) If I fail to keep this vow, may the curse of Brahmins, of father and mother, and of the great patriots of every country speedily reduce me to ashes.

* Translation from Bengali.

SECOND SPECIAL VOW.*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT XX (3).—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

OM BANDE MATARAM.

1. In the presence of God, fire, mother, preceptor and the leader (making them witnesses) I swear that I will do all the work of the circle for the development of the samiti, staking my life and everything that I possess. I will carry out all commands and will act in opposition to those who act in opposition to the aforesaid circle, and do injury to them to the utmost of my power.

2. I swear that I will never discuss the inner secrets with anybody, and that I will not tell them to my relations and friends or unnecessarily ask anything about them even from those included in the circle.

3. I swear that I will always be ready to carry out commands in a steady and disinterested manner, always preserving the secrecy of *mantras* and discarding waywardness, fickleness and any tendency to loquacity and wrangling.

4. I swear that I will never conceal anything whatever from the leader, and that I will never tell him a lie.

5. I swear that I will always be engaged in the practices of religion, and that I will mete out just punishment to those who are antagonistic to it.

6. If I fail to keep this vow or act in opposition to it, may the curse of Brahmins, of the mother, and of the great patriots of every country speedily destroy me.

APPENDIX B 6 (ii). *

VOW TAKEN BY A STUDENT.

*Recovered on house search, 1916.***MOTHER AND MOTHERLAND ARE ESTEEMED MORE THAN HEAVEN.**

I, Atul Krishna Ganguli, father's name Prasanna Kumar Ganguli, inhabitant of Areadah, this day, 2nd of Falgun, 1322 (B.S.), Monday, i.e., 14th February 1916, without being requested by anybody, voluntarily do promise, affirm and swear that of my own will and desire for the advancement of my country and for my country's emancipation and for fulfilment of those objects I join from this date the Santan Samiti. In the name of the departed saintly forefathers, in the name of mother and motherland, taking oath on religion, sacred *Gita*, and by touching firearm having barrel, I do swear that I will abide by the rules of the samiti and the orders of my dictator (Captain). My interest will be that of the samiti. I will always look into the interest of the samiti. By body, mind, deed and money I will always be up and doing in furtherance of the samiti's cause. Without orders I will keep in touch with others for the samiti's work. If I am found guilty of sacrilege I will submit to any punishment inflicted on me. If I am guilty of treason I will submit to the supreme penalty.

(Sd.) SRI ATUL CHANDRA GANGULI A: SRI BHABANI

PRASAD MUKHARJI.

In my presence the oath has been read and accepted.

(Sd.) KALI PADA RAI.

APPENDIX B 6 (iii).

RULES FOR MEMBERS, DACCA ANUSILAN SAMITI.*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT IX F. F.—DACCA CONSPIRACY CASE.

1. Every member of the circle must take both the sets of vows of the Samiti and the special vows of the Circle.

2. There should be one Chief Superintendent of the students' mess. There should be under him one or more teachers of *lathi-play*. So also there should be other persons superintending the kitchen, keeping an account of market money and entrusted with the care of the store-house. So also there should be persons entrusted with the care of books, ink-pots, pens, etc., and such other stationery articles. So also there should be persons entrusted with the care of pillows, blankets, covers, quilts, mattresses, banians, scarfs, shirts, coats, wearing apparel, napkins, handkerchiefs, etc.

3. The Heads should inquire whether, in the morning, at noon, in the evening and at night, all the members are present or not; and if anyone be absent, he will be punished if necessary. Those who absent themselves will be subject to serious punishment if need be. The absentee must be brought back by some means or other, even by force.

4. The Heads of the different departments will be responsible for this work, and must keep a strict watch that their appointed work, cooking, dining, cleansing of the house and the utensils, be performed at the proper time, and must get everything done by the members. If the authorities have to go to any other place, or to be absent even for a brief space of time, they must delegate their powers to some competent member.

5. Every member, be he a Brahmin, Vaidya or Kayastha, must every day offer up prayers to his own deities in his own way, and shall not take or use anything, such as onion, garlic, fowl, etc., which is forbidden by the Shastras and religion.

6. Every member must always be present in the Samiti. On any specially urgent matter he should obtain the knowledge and permission of the authorities before leaving. He will be allowed leave for one day every month for walking and to get acquainted with all the quarters of the town unless he be guilty of any special offence.

7. Every member must get by heart the vows, the duties of a Manager and of a Paridarshak, the play book and the regulations.

8. No member should get any money from his relations and friends for his own expenses. If the parents or any relations or friends of any member give him money or any article of luxury and comfort, the money and the article so given are to be regarded as the common property of the Samiti and circle, and must be handed over to the Head for the use of all the members. Whenever any money is saved by any member or whenever there is any surplus money, it must at once be made over to the Head.

9. Members may not borrow money or other things from other persons. None should buy things on credit without a letter signed by the authorities, and the authorities also, as far as it is practicable, should manage things without borrowing anything from anybody. None should buy things and eat them without informing the authorities. None should cherish any hankering after feasts. The permission of the authorities is to be taken before partaking of any feast. None should dress himself gorgeously or get his hair so cut that it is long in front and very short at the back or keep any article of comfort or luxury so as to use it himself as he likes. None should enjoy anything, whether edible or no, all by himself which he got from any other person by entreaty, without allowing the other members to share it with him. None should steal anything belonging to the Samiti and exclusively enjoy it. None should envy another his eating, sleeping, bedding, dress and rewards. Anyone found guilty in any one of these respects will be punished.

10. None should unnecessarily write letters to his friends, relations, etc. If it is necessary to write a letter, the permission of the head should be taken and the expenses entailed taken from him. All letters for and from the members must be shown to the Head.

11. The members shall be entitled to leave from the authorities on the occasion of the Sradh ceremony of their father, mother and in other similar emergencies. Otherwise every member should get leave for 12 days a year.

12. Those who absent themselves without the permission of the authorities will gradually be debarred from the aforesaid privileges. They will get less clothes, and according to the number of days on which they remain absent, they will be either partly or fully debarred from scholarships and prizes.

13. A list should be made of the things which a member takes with him when going home or to any other place. A special investigation should be made in order that he might not take away anything secretly. All the things should be taken back from him when he returns. If he brings with him any additional article, it will be entered in the list of the Samiti articles.

* Translation from Bengali.

14. Every member of the Samiti being attached to it and to its articles, shall take care that the dishes, utensils, bedding, clothes, articles of dress, earthen pots, water-jars, rice dāl, fish, vegetables, boiled rice, curry, etc., of the Samiti be not in any way destroyed or stolen. Rice soaked overnight should not be thrown away nor should more rice than one can consume be taken and thrown away.

15. Every member should out of love especially see that the rooms, doors, clothes, bedding, utensils, papers, books, etc., of the Samiti are taken proper care of and kept neat and clean.

16. A separate clear list should be made of things brought within the Samiti and of things of the Samiti let out to others. And things belonging to others should be returned to them carefully and the things of the Samiti should be carefully taken back.

17. No member of the samiti should be allowed to make arrangements for the food and board in the Samiti of any guest or relation without the previous sanction of the Chief. The Chief himself will receive the guests according to their position. The member related to the guests will remind the Chief about the reception and help him in it. Every member should inform the Chief should the fact of any outsider eating or staying in the Samiti without his permission come to his knowledge.

18. Every member should bring it to the notice of the Chief if he should notice any drawback in any of the members. On no account should the members, either out of friendship or being requested to do so, keep one another's faults secret from the authorities. Should the concealment of the fault of one member by another be detected, both of them shall be punished.

19. The members shall not be permitted to quarrel among themselves, to fight with one another, to call one another names, to wrangle or to show loquacity. They must be reticent always. They should not discuss foul topics or stories and enjoy themselves thereby. They should never create a row over anything, or be impudently talkative. None should sport with or tell lies as regards important matters. They should use gentle words and good treatment among themselves and towards the servants and the Brahmin cook. The authorities will punish the servant and the cook if necessary. No member should spend his time idly. Every member should make with promptness the best possible use of his time with austere reserve placing faith in his own religion, maintaining the secrecy of incantations and shaking off procrastination. None should unnecessarily disclose matters even among members; each should remember his own responsibility; every member should give to the elderly members their due share of respect and love the young members, and, being respectful to the authorities from a sense of moral duty, should be ready to undergo any punishment whatever.

20. Those who break the rules of the Samiti and the Circle or any of the vows as regards smoking, etc., must take only rice without salt, and must be employed in some arduous work under a strict watch and shall be debarred from the enjoyment of higher powers for some days as may be thought fit.

21. Those who wish to go out on their own business or to live in the world for any reasonable cause, leaving the Samiti and Circle, must pay for their expenses at the rate of Rs. 12 a month for the period during which they were in the Samiti.

P. B. DAS.

By order.

P. C. SEN.

APPENDIX B 6 (iv).

RULES FOR MEMBERS, DACCA ANUSILAN SAMITI.*

Found at the Headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT IX-B. B.—DACCA CONSPIRACY CASE.

OM BANDE MATARAM.

Every member must abide by the following rules. In default they will be punished. Whatever the Superintendent of any division may order, every member of that division must carry it out instantly. Even if the Superintendent passes an unjust order, the matter should be communicated to the Chief afterwards. But for the time being the orders of the Superintendent should be strictly obeyed:—

1. Those who work in the workshop must perform their work satisfactorily. They must abide by the orders of the mistri.

2. Those who are engaged in lighting the rooms, burning incense, and sweeping the rooms must sweep all the rooms between 8 A.M. and 8.30 A.M. every day. They must sweep the whole house every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday. They must get the latrines, drains, sides of the well, and places like these cleared every Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday. Between 4 and 4.30 P.M. all the lamps must be filled with oil and made ready, and precisely at dusk they must be lighted, and incense must be burnt. If members so employed be actually drilling, even then one of them must take leave of the officer in charge of the rank and attend to this work. Those engaged in lighting the rooms must remember all this and take leave of the officer in charge of the drill to light the lamps. One member must do all the work in connection with lighting, etc., on one day. Every one, after he has finished his work, shall keep the lamps in their proper places.

3. Those who are in charge of lathis, etc., must do the following pieces of work. They must deliver all the lathis, small as well as big, required every day for the play, to the officer in charge for the time being, and after the play is over, must take them back from him; all the lathis must be kept in a room under lock and key. Whenever any want of lathis is felt, at least four or five days before bamboos must be brought and lathis made ready. They must keep in their custody all the necessities for mock fights. In short, they will keep in their custody all the requisites of play, and will keep an account of each one of them.

4. Those who are in charge of the clothes must do the following pieces of work. They will keep an account of the clothes sent to the wash and of those not returned. If any clothes be missing, the matter must be reported to the leader. An account should be kept of the money that is given to the washerman and of the time when the money is given. When the clothes are returned by the washerman, they will be locked up in an almirah on the ground floor. Afterwards when the clothes are sent to the wash, the clothes of each one must be handed over to him, and the dirty clothes must be collected together and made over to the washerman. None will be allowed to use napkins, and all of them (as many as there may be) must be locked up in the almirah. The members must rub their bodies with their dhutis, and from the month of Falgun to the month of Aswin the banians of all the members will be in the custody of the manager in charge of the clothes. As regards the rest of the year even, they will be allowed to put on their banians only at the time of play. At noon none shall wear them. No one will be allowed to keep his shirts or coats with him. Everything will be in the keep of the manager in charge of the clothes. Only a selected few will be allowed to keep their shirts and coats with them. Shoes, stockings and other articles of dress will be kept in the same way. The Superintendent of this division will have charge of all new articles of dress that are in stock. They will be kept in an almirah on the ground floor.

5. The member employed in making the necessary arrangements for the bedding must inspect whether all the beds have been folded up in the morning, i.e., precisely at 5 A.M., and must see that they are not used by anyone during the daytime. Whenever any want of bedding is felt, the matter must be brought to the notice of the authorities, and the want must be removed by getting the thing done with the money taken from the authorities. The bedding must be exposed to the sun once a week. All the new bedding in stock will be in charge of the Superintendent of this division.

6. The officer in charge of the Library must conform to the rules for the issue of books. He should allow none to keep any book with him for more than seven days. Only books of daily use will be allowed to be kept by members reading them and only after they have entered their names in the issue book. For every room two ink-pots, four pens and two pencils should be made over to the charge of a member of that room. The other members should take them from him and return them after they have done with them and the rest of the ink-pots, pens and paper will be kept in the Library. The Superintendent of the division should keep with himself thread and needle and every one should take out from him whatever he requires.

7. The officer employed in attending the sick must inspect every case, old and new, every morning, and should there arise any necessity for calling doctors or kabirajes, cause the thing to be done by his subordinates, and should see that all the necessary arrangements as regards medicine and diet are satisfactorily made. Care should be taken that other treatments, such as pressing the limbs, etc., are not neglected. When sick, a member should have in his keep the necessary bedding, utensils, etc., till his recovery. When he recovers from his illness, he must make over those articles to their separate keepers, for which he alone will be responsible.

8. Every day, after reciting the hymns, the officer in charge of the kitchen should, after informing the leader, select members for cooking and make the necessary arrangements to get everything ready by 9-30. Rice and dāl should be taken in such quantities that there may not, whether at noon or at night, be any unconsumed food left, and only for those engaged in the kitchen and for three or four boys should there be kept boiled rice of the previous day soaked in water. Some quantity of dried dāl and curry should also be kept for them. None will be given any money in cash. By 8-30 P.M. marketing should be finished, whether fish can be had or not, and if fish cannot be had vegetables should be bought. Every night after supper all the thalas and batis, etc. (utensils), should be counted and afterwards be locked in the store-room. Thrice the dining bell should be rung and those who go on talking or sleeping and do not turn up when the third bell goes should be refused food. Only when a member goes out on some emergency should rice be kept for him. Those also should be refused rice who are loitering idly outside at the time of supper. When the dining bell is rung for the first time, as many must sit for their meal as there are seats. If anyone fails to turn up at the first call through sheer idleness or being engaged in a merry conversation, i.e., if anyone begins to neglect his duties on such grounds and does not acquire that habit of doing things at the appointed hour, he should be refused food for that day and be subject to other punishment. Everyone should learn the habit of finishing his dinner quickly, and everyone should remember this at the time of taking his meals. The less greedy one is, the better. The Shastras say that "greed begets sin and sin begets death." So everyone should check greed. Do not take your bellyful of food. "With less rice double strength, with much rice destruction." So you should take three-fourths of your bellyful.

9. As soon as the bell for bathing is rung at 9 A.M. each one should go to bathe, shaking off lethargy and giving up idle talk. The anointing of the body with oil should be finished within a quarter of an hour, so that at 9-15 every one may go to bathe and return and sit for the meal precisely at 10 A.M. and with them should also one of the members engaged in the kitchen go to bathe and he will sit for his meal with them. Another will go on the second occasion. None should leave the utensils with the orts and leaveings on the side of the well. Everyone, except the bedridden, must cleanse his utensils, and after doing it, deposit them with the officer in charge in the room containing the staircase, and a lamp should be kept there.

10. Rice will be taken only for those who appear in the "ranks" when in the morning the order to "fall in" is given and for none else save those who are out on special work. At any other time when the order to "fall in" is given, or at the time when the bell for bathing is rung, everyone, save the bedridden and those engaged in special work, must, within five minutes, take his stand in the files. If anyone shows lethargy and indifference in this matter, he must undergo special punishment.

11. In the afternoon, when the order to "fall in" is given, every member should take his wearing apparel with him and take up his stand in the files. The Superintendent of the clothes should see that every member has got his clothes with him. The members after wrapping those clothes round their head or waist should play and drill.

12. Those who keep watch at night should rouse all members from their sleep at 4-30 A.M. If it comes to the notice of the authorities that at that time anyone, save the bedridden, does not get up from his bed or shows lethargy or indifference in getting up from his bed, he must undergo special punishment.

13. Without the special permission of the authorities, none should cut his hair oftener than once in 1½ month. The verandah in front of the front room on the ground floor shall be used for the purpose. Everyone should throw into the adjacent jungles the hair cut off with his own hands. It has often been noticed that one likes to be free, leaving the work to another. None should do so without the orders of the authorities to that effect. He must do the work himself. None should on any occasion offer as an excuse for his not doing his work the fact that another member did not do his work. Punishments will be regulated according to the triviality or seriousness of a fault, i.e., there will be some general punishments and some special. General punishments are taking rice without salt, keeping watch at night for three hours, etc., and special punishments are more serious than these.

Both he who loses his clothes and he in whose trunks they are found must equally undergo special punishment.

On no occasion, whoever he may be, should the gate-keeper go anywhere before a new gate-keeper has been appointed by the authorities.

The 13th November 1908.

APPENDIX B. 6 (v).

DUTIES OF SECRETARIES.*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT XX (7).—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

Sāmpadakganer Kartabya.

1. Being personally present every day (the Secretaries) should ascertain (*i.e.*, examine) the attendance of members. Each individual member must be made to fill up the column of his name every day in the attendance register.

2. Inquiry must be made about absent members.

3. Proper arrangements must be made for the nursing of members who may be taken ill.

4. The wants and grievances of members must be heard and efforts made for redressing them.

5. Endeavour should be made to increase the number of members, and enquiries should be made as to the existence of conspiracies, if any, against the samiti and steps taken for the remedy thereof.

6. When a new man comes to take admission, his antecedents in full should first be taken; it should be fully ascertained if he had previously been a member of any other samiti; he should be bound by vows to observe all the rules of the samiti, and then he should be admitted into the samiti. And his antecedents, place of residence, etc., should be legibly recorded in the admission book.

The following are the points on which information is to be obtained:—(1) Name, (2) Date, (3) Age, (4) Religion and nationality, (5) Father's name and occupation, (6) Guardian's name and occupation, (7) Akhra or Club, (8) Full address of residence in the current year, (9) Full address of (native) home, (10) Reading and writing, education, school, class and occupation, etc. When anyone who was a member of any of the samitis affiliated to this samiti changes his residence and comes to take admission (into the samiti), the evidence thereof should be fully examined to their (the Secretaries') satisfaction and then his name be entered in the attendance register, and not in the admission book. No one is to be admitted who is a non-Hindu or who has any spite against the Hindu.

7. A list is to be kept showing the residence (in the current year) of each member, and the school and class to which he belongs.

8. If any member wants to change one Akhra and join another, his name, age, number, date, father's name and occupation, guardian's name and occupation, religion and nationality, full address of native home, the Akhra of which he was a member, and the Akhra which he intends to join, conduct, zeal, perseverance, efficiency in gymnastics and other physical exercises and also in reading and writing should be put down on a piece of paper and forwarded to the Chief Secretary.

9. Attention is to be paid to see whether every member is observing all the rules of the samiti, and members are to be helped and compelled to observe the rules of the samiti. To effect this purpose, the Secretaries should select a few such members as are highly trustworthy, expert, courageous and zealous, and appoint these members as whole-time personal assistants to them.

10. If any member commits any wrong and it is necessary to mete out a heavy punishment to him, everything should be communicated to the Chief Secretary. The correction (of the delinquent) should be sought to be brought about first by sweet words, then by words of advice, next through the co-operation of the guardian or other superior persons, then by intimidation, then by corporal punishment or other devices. If all this fails to bring about correction, the Chief Secretary is to be informed of everything. But in no circumstances should the delinquent be allowed to leave the samiti or his name be struck off the roll. The delinquent should not be allowed to learn anything new as long as he remains incorrigible. The Secretaries themselves should find out those members who may have disobeyed or neglected any orders or they should employ a qualified man to watch the delinquents closely and constantly, adopt various devices, as may be convenient to make them obey the orders, warn them for the future, and in various ways keep a close watch over them for a few days.

11. Every Sunday all the samitis are to meet together at a place fixed by the Chief Secretary, and every Secretary should compel the members of his Akhra to attend the meeting in question. If no (previous) intimation regarding such meetings be obtained work will go on as usual.

12. The members are to be inspired and stirred up with (the sentiments of) patriotism.

13. In order to have the work of the samiti done, a daily routine of duties is to be fixed for each member.

14. Proper arrangements are to be made for lathis, boats, gohails, horses, arenas for wrestling and the rest. To keep the lathis and the articles of the samiti, arrange-

ments should be made for a room or a box that may be fastened with a lock. Particular care is to be taken to see that no article is destroyed or stolen needlessly and through carelessness. A number of lathis is to be kept in the reserve stock of each Akhra and each member must be made to provide himself with his own lathi; the members must purchase their lathis if they fail to procure them (otherwise). Lathis and other things may be supplied from the samiti to those members who work hard for the samitis or will bring from their homes a quantity of *mustibhiksha* (handfuls of rice) much larger than usual.

15. Proper arrangements have to be made daily for imparting lessons to each member. If necessary, different days should be fixed for different exercises.

16. Drill, foot-races, going up and coming down by ropes and bamboo poles, swimming, boating and horse-riding, exposure to rain, sunshine, cold, heat, fasting and keeping up at night, etc.—these habits of enduring hardships should be taught (to the members).

17. Every member must get his proficiency (or otherwise) in gymnastics and other physical exercises, and his advance or retrogression in education and morals noted down every week in the book in which the method of teaching is recorded.

18. The members of each Akhra are to be divided into batches of ten, and each such batch is to be placed under a separate teacher and a captain; the leaders of the different batches are to keep with them copies of the memorandum of duties of Secretaries and both sets of vows written out legibly. And copies of both sets of vows and of other rules are to be written out in a bold hand and pasted on a thick paper or piece of wood and kept hanging at the courtyard of each Akhra, and every day the attention of each member is to be invited to it.

19. The leaders of the small batches of the samiti should be responsible for the education and (punctual) attendance of the members entrusted to their charge. They should also compel the members to remain under the samiti, and each member always to keep with him a copy of the vows and a book for recording the method of teaching. Members are to note down in such books the instruction they daily receive.

20. Every chief instructor must supervise the teaching of each small batch and teach the leaders and teachers of those batches.

21. Those who have taken only the Adya vows are to be taught up to the lesson in big lathi, called "Ranger bari," the lesson in small lathi, called "Shyam Ghat," and the first lesson in dagger-play. Beyond this no other lessons are to be imparted to them.

22. Instruction in all branches is to be imparted to those who have taken both sets of vows in full.

23. Those who are under 12 years of age and incapable of understanding the spirit of the vows are to be designated the external limb of the samiti. Such (boys) are only to have the vows read out to them, and made to observe them.

24. The members forming the external limb are to be taught beniti,* dumb-bell exercise, chest exercises, wrestling, baitakiri, and should also be taught to engage in duel fighting, playing the lathi fearlessly and independently, either with one hand or both the hands.

25. Proper arrangements must be made in every quarter (of the town or village) to collect handfuls of rice (deposited by householders to be given away as alms), and attempts should be made to seek pecuniary help from those men who have the samitis' good at heart. Members failing to pay the necessary subscription should be made to bring a larger quantity of rice or to set themselves to do a special work. Exemption from payment of subscription may be made in the case of those members who are poor, but who hold a good moral character and are very expert in discharging their duties.

26. The accounts of the samiti are to be duly rendered every week on the Chief Secretary's calling for the same and to be shown to the visitors deputed from the central samiti. The orders of the Chief Secretary must be taken if the sum of money realized and collected is to be spent in carrying out any items other than the general ones of the samiti, and half the sum of money left in the purse on the last day of every month should be remitted to the Chief Secretary of the central samiti within the first week of the following month.

27. The Secretaries are empowered to select fit members as their assistants and assign different duties to them. Whenever a Secretary desires to leave the place for any period of time, he must go away after appointing any distinguished member as a representative in his place, and after making such nice and full arrangements that during his absence nothing can go wrong in the samiti and no inconvenience may arise, or, in case, any inconvenience is felt, it may be easily settled, and he should duly make over to his representative all papers, correspondence and articles. No Akhra should remain without a Secretary for any space of time. The slightest change that may take place in the samiti is to be promptly reported to the Chief Secretary.

APPENDIX B 6(vi).

“PARIDARSHAK” OR “THE VISITOR.”*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT XX (5)—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

PARIDARSHAK.

PROCEED TO WORK AFTER READING THIS BOOK FIVE TIMES WITH ATTENTION.

Bande Mataram.

In forming a new samiti in a new place, special attention should be paid to attracting the minds of people towards the samiti by making acquaintance with the enthusiastic, honest, influential and sympathetic persons of that village and by indirectly gathering all information about the village from them. You should talk with all men in a humble, honest and meek way. You should, first of all, express great sympathy with all matters which are particularly dear to the people of the locality, and then gradually draw their attention towards our object. In this connection you must explain to them that without unity and the power of protecting ourselves we cannot achieve success in any work, and that there can be no unity unless we remain under the guidance of one leader. It should be explained to those who object to the taking of vows that without vows only an undisciplined body will be created; and probably those who will receive training from us will form different organizations against us, and in future there will be no possibility of our having (the co-operation of) men without vows when the time for work comes; consequently the time for the accomplishment of our cherished end will never present itself. It is easily understood that those who do not wish to take vows have no desire of being members of any organization or of bringing about the consummation of a great object. They want to learn simply from motives of personal interest. If we are going to instruct (people) in this way there will be a sheer waste of our energy and labour for nothing. In no country and at no time has a powerful body or a military organization been, nor ever can be, formed without hard and fast rules. Learning especially, which might be used against the preceptor, can never be imparted without considering the fitness of the recipient. It must be explained to those who, having understood the object of the vows, yet fear to take them, that sin attaches only to the deliberate violation of vows, but there is no sin in the violation of vows from necessity or from want of strength. For nobody can make possible what is impossible. Many persons say that “some of those who will be admitted (into the samiti) after being bound by vows will not be able to fulfil them.” The reply to this is that the object in starting an educational institution is to turn out learned men; but it is known to everybody that all the students of a school do not become learned. Some turn out fools and worthless. But had there been no hard and fast rule in a school, possibly all the students would have become worthless. Many object that “it is not possible to obey without saying a word, if the leader gives any unjust order or understands a thing wrongly.” The reply to this is that progress cannot be made in any kind of work without faith in the leader. It is useless to doubt in a matter where there is no personal interest to gain. When united in a compact organization, even if we follow a wrong path, then the error will be mended without any difficulty by the force of union, and we shall surmount all dangers and impediments. But when divided, even if we follow the right tract, still there are great chances of danger. For our individual strength is very small. If, in truth, anyone understands more than the leader and protests against him, then even those who understand less than the leader and who are in error will (have an opportunity to) see the example of disobedience to the leader. “If you want to be great, then be humble first.” Napoleon was first of all a common soldier. If you can show your fitness, you will be able to be very great in time. But if you show an example of disobedience, you in your turn will not be able to secure obedience. He who cannot submit to others cannot make others submit to him. Even those who make vows without understanding their significance can be kept under control by the strength of the vows. Especially in constantly remembering the vows, and being constantly guided by these rules, the mind becomes of itself in a fit condition for obeying the vows. Those who would separate themselves from the samiti from a failure in obeying the vows have to be brought back under the samiti by stratagem or force or artifice. In order to exercise control of all kinds, arrangements should be made for conciliation or gifts, for creation of division or for the cudgel.† But we must be careful that in no circumstances danger of any kind may befall the samiti. To those who raise the question how to deal with those members who, having taken the vows, deliberately break the vows, it must be said in reply that by the force of the vows some influential members will undoubtedly conduct themselves in obedience to (the orders of) the leader of the samiti, and by the help of those members we shall be able to keep the backsliders under our complete control. Severed from the

* Translation from Bengali.

† NOTE.—A reference to the four methods laid down by Manu for treating with a powerful enemy.

good and self-sacrificing people, the backsliders can have no real courage or power in anything. And those who refuse to obey a certain system of rules can never act under another system of rules and form themselves into a band. No organization can be formed without some sort of rule, and no power can be acquired unless you form yourselves into bands in the real sense of the term.

When you go to a village, you should ask whether the people have any wants or grievances. The Paridarshaks will generally give instructions to the local instructors in different places. Four or five fit men should be selected, and each of them should be given the task of imparting knowledge on a particular subject. There would be many errors if we trained one man in many subjects in a short time. The local instructors should be examined regarding their previous training, and it has to be carefully seen whether they are imparting knowledge in the right method, and instructions should be given about the necessity of the teacher conducting himself under (the orders of) the Sampadak. In every samiti the Paridarshak should, before leaving, establish on a firm and proper basis each particular item (of work) that the Sampadak according to his "duties" has to perform. On going to one village, information should be sent to all the adjacent villages, and, if possible, new samitis should be started in all those places, and the names of the villages and the names, residences and the addresses of the promoters (Parichalaks) will have to be taken in detail; and a Sampadak and Dalapati (leader) must be appointed for every village, and their names, residences and signatures must be taken in the report. Full inquiry and investigation must be made whether any new village samiti has been formed without our knowledge besides the enrolled samitis in the neighbourhood. Proper arrangements about its supervision should be made and full details about it recorded. Brief notes shall be recorded about the enthusiasm, enterprise, capacity for work, opportunity, convenience, inconvenience, impediments, obstacles and men, good and bad, in every village; and also about the natural features, such as roads, ghâts, fields, climate, houses, etc. Samitis which cannot unite on account of want of enthusiasm or enterprise or for any other reason have to be searched out, and suitable arrangements should be made about the proper regulation of such samitis by giving all manner of instruction and encouraging or inspiring them by referring to the stigma which is associated with our nation, or by any other means.

We should ascertain, after thorough investigation, whether those who are playing in each samiti have taken all the vows prescribed by the samiti and are fully carrying them out, and proper remedies should be applied where necessary. Those members who are disobedient to the Sampadak or are in any other way breaking their vows must be reminded of the vows taken by them, and told in sweet words that, if they want to be known as Hindu Santans, they must not break these vows; but if that proves unsuccessful, then recourse must be had to other methods. Thorough investigation must be made whether any of the members of any samiti included in ours has been teaching play to anyone who has not taken the vows, and attempts should be made to remedy this effectually. In this matter strict vigilance must be maintained. If it is found that the names of those who have newly become members of the samiti have not been entered in the special list by being sent to the Pradhan Sampadak (Chief Secretary), then, if thought fit after careful examination, the full description under ten heads of every member, in accordance with Rule 6 of the "Sampadakganer Kartabya," written out clearly, should be sent to the Pradhan Sampadak for enrolment in the special list. Each member will have to pay four pice as cost if he wishes to get a badge of the samiti. The names of those who have sent four pice for a badge should be marked, and their description under the ten heads should be clearly written out and sent.

In those places where there is probability, or where first signs are visible, of the creation of different factions against our samiti, the leaders of all such factions should, in the first instance, be called and have explained to them in sweet words that to create factions at this time is most improper and fatal. A factious spirit leads not to an increase of strength by any means, but rather to a diminution of strength. Therefore, full and proper arrangements should be made so that feelings of personal animosity may not enter the samiti, and that everyone may work on an equal footing under the central authorities. All misunderstandings and feelings of secret enmity which exist in the minds of the members of any place must be removed by reminding them of their vows, and if necessary, or if signs of future trouble are observed, then the (entire body of) members should be split up and different bands formed and Sampadaks and leaders etc., appointed for each band, and the columns of the complete report filled up with their signatures, names and addresses. In every samiti, those who are the Adhyakshas (teachers), Sampadaks and Sahakari Dalapatis (assistant leaders) and the instructors of different courses of study should each fill up distinctly and legibly with their own hands the columns relating to their names, addresses and designations. The abbreviated signs for each course of study are as follows:—

"Be" indicates "Beniti." (Bar-bells.)	"Shu" indicates "Shurasheni."
"Ba" " " "Bardhamani."*	"Ghu" " " "Ghusaghsni." (Boxing.)
"Sha" " " "Sankashuri."*	"A" " " "Asliwa." (Horsemanship.)
"Ba" " " "Bank of Chora."*	"Cha" " " "Chalan Pranali." (Marching.)
"Ji" " " "Jiu-Jitsu."	"Na" " " "Nauka." (Boating.)
"Ha" " " "Harua."*	"La" " " "Lakhyabhedha." (Marksmanship.)
"Ha" " " "Hanumanti."*	

* Name given in the Samiti to some sort of physical exercise the exact nature of which is not clear.

For other necessities also the local samiti may in some places be split up and the charge placed in the hands of different leaders. The greater the number of different branch samitis and different centres for play, the greater opportunity will there be for collecting men. But it should always be seen that there is no mutual quarrel or dispute, and it should also be seen that all these separate samitis remain completely under the control of the principal central samiti. Threats should be held out to those who, disregarding requests and advice of all kinds, are of their own motion only trying to harm the samiti; and if opportunity occurs, attempt will also have to be made to retaliate. There Tattvabadhayaks (Superintendents) and Paridarshaks should, in places where they find any kind of trouble, try immediately to remedy it, and send full information to the Pradhan Sampadak. Thorough arrangements should be made so that no member who changes his samiti can play without (producing) his badge and a letter from the Sampadak of the samiti he has left with the countersignature of the Pradhan Sampadak. Inquiry should be made in all samitis to see if anyone, by any trick or deception, is learning to play without taking the vows, and if anyone is so detected, then proper preventive measures should be taken, and he must be made to take the vows; if he refuses to take the vows, then arrangements will have to be made for the complete destruction of his knowledge.

If any Sampadak, Dalapati, or any other person in authority wishes to take leave for any particular period, then he must make over all papers, articles, letters, *lathis*, etc., and other work to his substitute, and information about this should be at once given to the Pradhan Sampadak.

When leaving a village, the travelling expenses and contributions to the central samiti should be taken from the Sampadak of that locality, and before leaving any village, searching inquiry should be made and questions put with a view to ascertain whether all items of work as laid down in the report and the Sampadakganer Kartabya are being carried out to the letter. The columns for information should be filled up in detail, and the statement, together with the report, sent to the Pradhan Sampadak without delay. Things which are particularly important should not be sent to the Pradhan Sampadak by post. They should be sent to one's own trustworthy relative, who should see that it reaches the Pradhan Sampadak. The Paridarshak or Tattvabadhayak should not leave (the place) with his work unfinished, because it entails some hardship, hard work or inconvenience or for some other reason. Anyhow he must finish the work before he leaves. No kind of impediment or affection or illusion or love or attraction must be the cause of his showing neglect or want of zeal in performing the work. The Tattvabadhayaks and Paridarshaks must renounce all kinds of desires and longings.

This samiti has no open relationship of any kind with popular and outward *swadeshi*, that is, (the boycott of) *Bilati* (European) articles, clothes, salt, sugar, etc. To be mixed up in quarrels or disputes and litigation about such affairs is entirely against the principles of this samiti. Unless the (foreigners and the foreign) king are driven out, it is impossible altogether to drive out foreign goods. It is proper and it is the command of the samiti for each individual member to use *swadeshi* goods as much as possible without any show. It is absolutely against the principles of the samiti to exceed this (limit) even in the slightest degree with regard to the popular *swadeshi*.

In answer to the question "Why are not Musalmans admitted?" it has to be said that, in reviewing the entire history of India, it is clearly seen that in all instances where Hindus have placed their trust in Musalmans, the Hindus have been deceived in various ways. No other nation in the world attaches so much solemnity and sanctity to the taking of vows as the Hindus; indeed this idea of ours is ridiculed as blind faith. It is true that all nations of the world take vows from dire necessity, but they do not hesitate in the least to break them as soon as they gain their object. Among the ordinary Musalmans also it has been seen in many cases that they have without scruple broken the vows which they took after touching the *Koran Sharif*. Generally the habits and customs of the Musalmans of this country are contrary to those of the Hindus, and, indeed, galling to their (religious) feelings. When an attempt was made to bring about union of Hindus and Musalmans at the beginning of the *swadeshi* agitation, many Musalmans then said: "Eat cow with us; give your *bhagnis* in marriage to us, then there will be unity between you and us. If we call them brothers, they would not hesitate to call us *salas*, because their *Shastras* even permit them to marry their *bhagnis*. It cannot be said that all Musalmans are individually (thus) antagonistic; even among Musalmans there are many who are honest and *swadeshi*, but that those who have shown marked enthusiasm only for popular *swadeshi* and the boycott of *Bilati* (goods) would prove fit for the work of our samiti or show steadfastly enthusiasm or enterprise is not by any means certain. Moreover, when the entire Musalman race is against us, it will not be particularly profitable to us if one or two Musalmans join our band; on the other hand, those Musalmans who are antagonistically disposed towards us will be all the more envious because some of their own men have joined our band. Besides, it has to be seen that, if two or four Musalmans are admitted because they are found trustworthy after selection, then other crafty Musalmans will want to be admitted. There will be then no means of excluding them. If it so happens that all Musalmans grow violent against the Hindus, or if they join with the English, and if the parents and relatives of the Musalmans who have joined our band stand against us, then what course all those Musalman members will adopt is (a question) to be considered by both sides. If at that time they leave our side, then there will be a very great chance of injury to us. For this reason, those who once join our band will have

to remain in our band for ever. It will not, therefore, be any good to us if two or four Musalman students come and play *lathi* with us and then go away; they will simply go away with a knowledge of some of our secret *mantras*. But if those Musalmans who are in sympathy with us can make their society fall in with our views and can, above all, make arrangements for the entire prevention of cow-killing, then it is possible for all parties to secure benefit and welfare in all respects.

So far as can be foreseen, it is (our) firm belief that within a year or two the entire Musalman nation will become submissive to the Hindus. But if the Hindus then abandon their firmness and national glory and sink low (enough) to court friendship with the Musalmans by being hand in glove with them, the Musalmans will be puffed up, and no good but only evil will be brought about. That nation which cannot preserve its national glory, national greatness and dignity, and national firmness, steadfastness and pride and shows levity, baseness and waywardness can never be respected and worshipped by other nations. But in no circumstances would it be proper to show hostile feelings against or to deal unjustly with the Musalmans as a nation.

In those places where any prominent member, *e.g.*, a zamindar, has influence and control over low-class people, attempts should be made to have bands formed with the help of those people. But it should always be seen that those bands cannot work independently and for want of restraint commit oppression upon other people. We should keep them under our samiti by setting them to take the vows before the temple of some deity, by making them touch copper, tulsi and the Ganges water. They must endeavour to (make their own arrangements to) play among themselves.

APPENDIX B 6 (vii).

PARWANA ISSUED BY PULIN DAS.*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT 17 Q—DACCA CONSPIRACY CASE.

I send Sriman Pramod Behari Das to supervise the work of the Mofassil Samitis. Members of the Mofassil Samitis should oblige (me) by assisting him in every way, by furnishing him with all necessary informations and by giving him travelling and other necessary expenses. Mofassil Samitis should particularly see that the Paridarshaks (Visitors) do not get into any scrape nor are put to any inconvenience for want of men and money. Thus far.

SRI PULIN BEHARI DAS.

PARWANA, DACCA ANUSILAN SAMITI, 1908.*

EXHIBIT IX-U—DACCA CONSPIRACY CASE.

Om Bandō Mataram.

I hereby depute Sriman Rebati Mohan Biswas to inspect the Mofassil Samitis and to establish new Samitis as well. The members of the Mofassil Samitis will please oblige by giving the Inspectors all the necessary information, by rendering them every assistance in their inspection, by showing them the way, by helping them to proceed on their way, and by providing them with passage money, travelling expenses, dress and all the necessary expenses. The Mofassil Samitis will specially see that the Inspectors, for want of men, of shelter (*lit.*, place), of attention, do not fall into danger or suffer any inconvenience. None will please suspect the Inspector bearing this letter signed by me to be a detective. No detective will be able to injure our Samiti by collecting the information which the Inspector will record in this note-book. Detectives cannot teach play.

The members and managers will please oblige by bringing to my or my representative's notice, either by sending a man or in any other satisfactory way, if any Inspector anywhere indulges in any kind of smoking or uses narcotics, or does anything wrong, or behaves himself in an unbecoming manner, or engages in foul talk or shows lethargy, foppery, loquacity or any negligence in his duties.

SRI PULIN BEHARI DAS.

PARWANA, DACCA ANUSILAN SAMITI, SYLHET BRANCH, 1908.*

Found at the search of the house of Satish Chandra Ray.

EXHIBIT 41—DACCA CONSPIRACY CASE.

Om Bande Mataram.

ANUSILAN SAMITI.

HABIGANJ, SYLHET.

Dated 4th Sraban, 1315.

NOTICE.

The Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Captains, Assistant Captains, Masters and other members of all the Anusilan Samitis established everywhere are hereby humbly informed that Srijukta Nishi Kanta Basu Chaudhuri is appointed to be an Inspector of all the Samitis from this day forth for one month. He is well experienced in regard to the games of the Samiti and his character is held in high esteem by all. Whenever he visits any Samiti and wants to carry out the duties of an Inspector, such as the inspection of the Samiti and the like, *Parichalaks* (Directors) of the Samiti and its other members should cordially and sincerely co-operate with him according to necessity. Everyone should unhesitatingly communicate to him whatever he wants to know from him concerning the Samiti. He is authorised to collect monthly subscriptions and donations for the aid of the Samiti. Whenever he visits any Samiti, that Samiti should pay his passage. Thus far.

SRI REBATI MOHAN RAY CHAUDHURI,

General Secretary,

Central Samiti, Habiganj

APPENDIX B 6 (viii).

VILLAGE NOTES.*

Found at the headquarters, Dacca Anusilan Samiti, November 1908.

EXHIBIT XX (8)—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

VILLAGE NOTES.

Remarks and description.

1. The population of the village belonging to different sects and nationalities.
2. Number and description of the literate, illiterate, rich, poor, beggars, coolies, peasants and business men.
3. The spirit of enterprise, enthusiasm and sympathy of the local population.
4. Complete description of the natural scenery—homesteads, houses, trees, gardens, forests, ghâts, meadows, sanitation and climate.
5. Complete description of the length and breadth of the village, the number of routes by land and by water, and which ways lead to which directions.
6. Complete description of markets (*lit.*, hâts and bazars).
7. The things which are largely grown or available.
8. The things of which there is a want there.
9. Complete description of local schools, post and telegraph offices.
10. Complete and detailed description of any mischievous, rebellious, malicious, characterless and promise-breaking member, person or class.
11. Wants, complaints and the manager's remarks.
12. All sorts of efforts and suggestions (*prastabana—lit.*, prelude) for the screwing up of enthusiasm, the increase of the members' remedies.
13. Number of the members—adults, boys, infants.
14. Number of attendance of different sections.
15. Improvements as regards the games and the procedure of the members.
16. The Inspector's travelling expenses and other necessities and securing any help for the central samiti.
19. What things are being done and what not in accordance with the "duties of the manager."
20. Miscellaneous and own remarks.
21. The date of inspection and the signatures of both the Manager and Inspector.

[Page 2 blank.]

[Page 3.]

Name of the village.	Full address of the place of congregation.	Post Office.	District.	Thana and Pargana.
1	2	3	4	5
Branch—				
"Ka"				
"Kha"				
"Ga"				
"Gha"				
"Una"				
"Cha"†				

* Translation from Bengali.

† Corresponding to A, B, C, etc.

Designation.	Signature and secret numbers of Secretaries, Superintendents, assistants, teachers of various subjects, leaders of small parties (to be written legibly).	Profession, school, class.	Full address of home and residence.	Name and profession of father.	Place where he is employed.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Superintendent ...	.....			
Secretary ...	.....			
Leader ...	.....			
Teacher ...	.....			
" Ba " " ha " ...	... ' ba ' ' ghu ' ' ji ' ' a ' ...				
" ba " " ha " ...	... ' cha ' ' nahu ' ' la ' ...				
" sha " " shu " ...	.....			

[Page 4].

(Roads, ghâts, meadows, canals, rivers, ditches, houses, forests, gardens, etc., to be shown fully in various colours and ways.)

MAP.

APPENDIX B 6 (ix).

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

Found at a revolutionary resort on the 2nd September 1909.

EXHIBIT 34—NANGLA DACOITY CASE.

The history of the Russian revolutionary movement shows that those who organise the masses for a revolutionary outbreak ought to keep in mind the following principles :—

1. A solid organisation of all revolutionary elements of the country, allowing the concentration of all forces of the party where they are most necessary.
2. A strict division of different branches or departments, *i.e.*, persons working in one department ought not even to know that which is done in any other, and in no case should one control the direction of two branches.
3. A severe discipline, especially in certain branches (military and terroristic), even of complete self-sacrificing members.
4. A strict keeping of secrecy, *i.e.*, every member may only know what he ought to know, and talk about business matters with companions who ought to hear such matters, and not with them who are not fit to hear.
5. A skilful use of all conspiring means, *i.e.*, paroles, cyphers, and so on.
6. A gradual developing of the action, *i.e.*, the party ought not at the beginning to grasp all branches but to work gradually; for instance, (1) organisation of a nucleus recruited among educated people, (2) spreading ideas among the masses through that nucleus, (3) organisation of technical means (military and terroristic), (4) agitation, (5) rebellion.

1. A solid organisation requires that in every considerable place or any place important for the movement in strategical or other respects, ought to be established a group of adherents of the party. All such groups are mutually connected and working according to one plan prepared by the Central Committee directing the whole movement.

2. If a group has more persons fit for working in a branch they ought to be transferred to other groups wanting such.

3. A rational use of all means, money, literature and so on, and a practical distribution thereof between the groups (or committees), the richer groups aiding the poorer.

II. **A strict division of branches.**—The work of a revolutionary party is of two kinds—(a) general, (b) special.

(a) The general work consists in—

1. Organisation.
2. Propaganda.
3. Agitation.

1. **ORGANISATION.**—Consists in establishing groups of adherents, new committees, congresses (general and local) convoked by the Central Committee and local organisation respectively.

2. **PROPAGANDA.**—Supposes preparing of propagandists among (1) the masses, (2) educated people. Literature, legal and illegal (secretly printed), periodical and other papers, reviews, books, pamphlets and proclamations.

3. **AGITATION.**—Preparing of agitators (orators).

The special part is of seven kinds—

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. printing, | 4. transport, |
| 2. military branches, | 5. information, |
| 3. finances, | 6. foreign department, |

7. terroristic department.

1. *Printing department*, which establishes presses, finds trustworthy persons in legal presses and foundries, prepares supplies of machines, characters and so on, prepares printers and persons working on cyclostyles, hectographs and so on.

2. *Military branches* (communicated).—Its tasks are (a) to organise mobilisation, (b) instruction, (c) chemistry (preparing of explosives and other matters for the rebellion), (d) preparing of victuals, (e) organisation of officers and soldiers, (f) military education of persons extraneous to the troops.

3. *Finances.*—This department obtains funds through (1) persons well off, (2) persons able to aid the party by establishing undertakings profitable to it (trade houses, philanthropic works and so on), (3) by imposing taxes on rich people (with the aid of the terroristic department). The financial department may be organised as a great real or fictitious trade house.

4. *Transport.*—This department has to organise (a) the exterior, (b) the interior transport.

(a) Exterior transport has to organise (1) the smuggling from abroad of arms, ammunition, technical things of all kinds necessary for the party which cannot be obtained in the country itself or brought into it openly; (2) preparing depôts in the ports and in neutral territories; (3) preparing of places at the frontiers, where smugglers and illegal persons (to the police) may go into the country.

(b) Interior transport consists of (1) transporting of the smuggled wares to the places situated in the country; (2) establishing depôts for such wares; (3) in some cases establishing of communications between several parts of the organisation (concerning not very important matters). The two branches of that department have to prepare its members for the service in custom houses, post, telegraph, transport offices, railways and other services useful for the smuggling, introducing such persons thereinto, and finding there persons ready to serve the party.

5. *Information*.—Observation of the deeds of the Government through own members serving in different offices. Observation of the conduct of the members.

6. *Foreign Department*.—It should gain the sympathy of public opinion abroad by editing papers, pamphlets, organising meetings, observe foreign politics, and inform the Central Committee of every important event, assist the transport department to spread the party's views among countrymen residing abroad.

7. *Terroristic Department*.—It has to prepare terrorists, organise laboratories, secret quarters, depôts etc., to organise terroristic detachments attached to the Central Committee and provincial committee; to organise flying terroristic departments (for unimportant acts, chiefly for aiding the financial department). The terroristic organisation admits only such members who are willing to an unconditional submission to all orders of their chiefs, and ready to risk their lives at any moment. The chief of the central terroristic organisation attached to the Central Committee is a member of the latter, and directs all other terroristic organisations. The Central Committee gives him but general prescriptions, not interfering with their execution; but he is obliged to execute all orders of the Central Committee. The latter communicates with the flying detachments, but through the chief of the terroristic department. The flying departments stay under the orders of the latter, who appoints the chief of them.

A general rule of every revolutionary action is:—No person acting illegally should be active legally as a public man (that concerns not the Government service, civil and military). Members occupied in both are of very great use to the party.

III. **Party Discipline**.—Should be strictly maintained in the whole life of the party in the terroristic and military departments; no infractions should be tolerated. But no superior should abuse it. He has always to remember that he is treating with a companion, and not only with an inferior, whose person ought to be respected.

All infractions are tried by a tribunal of companions. The assessors are appointed by the respective committees. All transgressions are divided into four categories—(1) unimportant, (2) important, (3) serious, (4) very serious.

1. **THE FIRST CATEGORY** embraces—Not accurate accomplishing of little tasks, not exact coming to the places of business meetings, etc. Such transgressions are punished (1) by a blame of a superior, (2) blame before the tribunal and (3) blame before companions.

2. **THE SECOND CATEGORY**.—Transgression of the conspiracy not followed by serious harm for the party, etc. Punishments—a temporal retreat from a post, transferring to an inferior post, and even a temporal exclusion from the party.

3. **THE THIRD CATEGORY**.—Abuse of the discipline in unimportant cases, talkativeness followed by unpleasant results to the party, leaving of a task unaccomplished (terroristic and military organisation excepted), spending of the party's means for private use, abuse of things belonging to the party and neglect of such cases are punished by perpetual exclusion from the party connected with the boycott of the person.

4. **THE FOURTH CATEGORY**.—Very serious infractions, for instance, leaving party's ranks for that of the enemy, treason, provocation, serious despoliation of the party's funds or property, refusal of a member of the terroristic or military organisation to execute superiors' orders, are punished by death. A member guilty of such crimes, discovered *in flagrante delicto*, or with undesirable proofs in hands, may be put to death by companions without trial. In such a case all documents are immediately sent to the Central Committee, which pronounces its judgment about the conduct of the executioners.

IV. **Conspiracies** (keeping of secrets).—A member should only talk about party matters with those persons who are required by the character of his special task. If he lets transpire some details about the task imposed on him, or anything he might eventually know, to persons extraneous to the party, he ought to be considered guilty of a transgression of the third category and punished accordingly. If a member talks about his task with other members who have nothing to do with it, he is guilty of a transgression of second category. Letting Government agents know anything about party matters constitutes a very serious transgression (some special cases excepted of discipline) and is punished by death.

V. **Conspirative means**.—(a) A parole is a secret word or phrase used for the sake of distinguishing members or non-members. There is a general one-party-parole known to all members acting in a certain locality, paroles for every category of committees, and a private parole of Central Committees serving for communications of the latter with Provincial Committees. The paroles are to be changed after every serious arrest (of many members). The organisation of each department may have paroles of its own and change them often enough.

(b) **CIPHERS**.—Every department and every committee ought to possess a cipher (code) of its own (methods, books, way of writing with lemon juice, milk, etc.). Blotting paper should not be used in any case. General rule—To write as little as possible; not to possess lists of members or depôts: the whole correspondence is to be burnt as soon as read.

The organisation is of two kinds, general and special, which are central and local. The Central Committee of the first manages the whole organisation.

CENTRAL ORGANISATION.

1. The Central Committee consists of the founders of the party, whose names are unknown to all persons extraneous to the Central Committee. Their number is never more than 10. The vacant places are occupied by the persons chosen by the Central Committee. The work is distributed between the members of it by the Central Committee so that every department should be directed by one of its members.

NOTE 1.—At the beginning of the rebellion, the Central Committee appoints a Dictator, choosing for that function a person well known for his qualities and popularity.

NOTE 2.—In the case of an arrest or death of at least six members of the Central Committee, the vacant posts are occupied *par interim* by the delegates of the Central Committee, in the Provincial Committees of the next province. As soon as possible the Central Committee holds a conference, to which every Provincial Committee sends one delegate, who elects the wanted number of members.

2. The power of the Central Committee is unlimited and extends over all departments, *i.e.*, the Central Committee directs the propaganda and agitation, supplies the Provincial Committees with persons, means, arms, books and papers, and everything necessary for their activity.

3. The funds of the Central Committee come from—

- (1) obligatory payment of the Provincial Committee;
- (2) payment directed to the Central Committee; and
- (3) undertakings of the Central Committee.

4. The Central Committee establishes Provincial Committees and communicates with them through its delegates or agents of the second degree.

5. The Central Committee is the highest instance without further application in settling misunderstandings between all organisations and in all questions concerning the propaganda or the tactics.

6. The Central Committee publishes the neutral organ of the party.

7. The Central Committee gives its account in the organ at least once a month. The secret part of it is communicated privately to Provincial Committees.

8. The Central Committee has its own seal. Documents emanating from the Central Committee without that seal are not valid.

9. Members of the Central Committee guilty of treason or evident abuses are tried by the conference of the delegates of Provincial Committees.

III.—LOCAL ORGANISATIONS.

A.—Provincial Organisations.

1. A provincial organisation is managed by the Provincial Committee which, submitting itself unconditionally to the Central Committee, has all its rights and duties in the limits of a province.

2. Every Provincial Committee counts among its members 1—3 persons appointed by the Central Committee. These delegates have the right of votes, in exceptional cases referring without delay to the Central Committee. Their acts may be objects of complaint before the Central Committee, but their resolutions remain valid until the Central Committee rejects them.

3. The Provincial Committee is composed of the members who (the delegates of the Central Committee excepted) are representatives of local organisations.

4. The funds of the Provincial Committee consist—

- (1) in obligatory payments of district organisation;
- (2) in payment directed to the Provincial Committee;
- (3) in funds coming from private undertakings of Provincial Committees.

NOTE.—A Provincial Committee gives 50 per cent. of all its revenues to the Central Committee, as all organisations of an inferior degree are subordinate to those of the superior degree.

5. A Provincial Committee communicates with the Central Committee through the latter's delegates; members of Provincial Committees in case of conflicts with these delegates through Central Committee's agents; for that purpose at least two elected members of the Provincial Committee possess a parole to the Central Committee's agent.

6. A Provincial Committee communicates with district organisations through its own agents (of the third degree).

7. A Provincial Committee may publish a paper.

8. A Provincial Committee presents its accounts to the Central Committee and District Committees of the province every month.

9. A Provincial Committee possesses a seal which is to be affixed to all documents emanating from it.

10. Members of a Provincial Committee are tried by the Central Committee if there is a complaint of the district organisation.

B.—District Committees.

1. District Committees are composed on the same principle as the Provincial Committee. One to three members of a District Committee are appointed by the Provincial Committee.
2. District Committees may publish pamphlets. They have seals of their own. In important places they may edit their organs if authorised by the Provincial Committee.
3. District Committees give 50 per cent. of their revenue to the Provincial Committee. Their funds are composed on the same principles as those of Provincial Committees.

C.—Town Committees.

1. A Town Committee is composed on the same principle as the District Committee.
2. A Town Committee is composed of ten members, of whom 1—3 are appointed by the District Committee. The rest are elected by delegates of local (rural) organisations and representatives of local active members.
3. Some towns may be made by the Central Committee equal to districts or even provinces. In such cases the towns may be divided into regions, each of which possesses the rights of a town.

D.—Rural organisations.

1. Rural Committees are composed of five members of the party.

GENERAL NOTE.—Every Local Committee may be dissolved by the Central Committee in cases of inability, dishonest conduct, and infractions of discipline.

E.—Members.

1. Members of the party may be everybody affiliated by a party organisation adopting the programme and tactics of the party and wishing to assist it.

NOTE.—An organisation ought not to force its members to do that which they are not inclined to do.

2. An organisation recruits such (members) persons known for their mental and moral qualities, firm, brave, and able to keep a secret. A candidate ought to be recommended by three members who are responsible for his doings.
3. Every member ought to execute the task undertaken, submitting himself to all directions of the Committee, except the latter being evidently harmful for the party.
4. Every member of the party has to keep all secrets which have been trusted to him, and not to communicate them to persons known to be members of the party, if not required by the character of his task.
5. Everything concerning the action of the party is a secret, not to be divulged even after leaving it.
6. Every member has to inform his superior, *i.e.*, the person by whom he has been introduced to the party, of all cases of treason, infraction of the statutes, and so on, and also of all things which may be useful for the party.
7. A member (except in cases of complete indigence) has to pay his fees to his organisation in limits established by it, and do his best for supplying it with funds.
8. A member has to affiliate new members, though being very circumspect in their choice.
9. A member may leave the party, but with the consent of the local committee, not before having accomplished all tasks imposed on him.
10. Every member has a right to special protection and assistance of the party.
11. A member is tried for small infractions by his respective committee, for serious crimes by the Town Committee. The right of appeal to the District Committee is reserved.
12. Treason and acts consciously aiming at the danger of the party are punished by death.
13. No member ought to give explanations of whatever nature they might be to a Coroner or to Judges, if tried as a political criminal; certain special cases excepted when such explanation is sanctioned at least by a District Committee.
14. Every member guilty of a common crime ought to be excluded.

F.—Persons sympathising with the party.

Besides regular members, the party is supported by persons sympathising with it, who serve it materially or in any other way. They do not take any delegation besides that of keeping secrets, and are so far as possible protected by the party.

Some branches require special quarters, the so-called conspirative quarters. Such are to be established in the following way:—Persons are found, who are above all suspicion in the eyes of the police (and of course in those of their friends too). They offer their houses or lodging to their companions, or, if they have none, a suitable house or lodging is hired in their names in a part of the town least observed. In these conspirative quarters persons who have to talk business meet, and meetings (no crowds) are held. The visitors conform themselves with the official, social position or occupation of their "hosts." Every organisation ought to be provided with a stock of such quarters.

Meetings find place but when necessary, as seldom as possible. During a meeting special guards are to be appointed to observe everything occurring in the neighbourhood of conspirative quarters. (The hosts have to find out whether they themselves or their houses are observed in the interval between meetings.) All conspirative quarters ought to have as many issues as possible (no less than two at any rate).

(Only the most necessary papers are brought to a meeting, and there should be taken measures to facilitate their destruction in case of a disturbance.)

(A reasonable pretext ought to be at hand to cover the real aim of a meeting when many persons have to meet.)

It is of great use to have certain signs to show to all persons competent that conspirative quarters are safe, as a certain position of the curtains on the windows, or plants there, visiting cards on the doors, and so on. Such signs ought to be changeable without difficulty in case of danger. Besides such special conspirative quarters, there ought to be places where the new-coming members might meet with their local companions, or where local members of the general organisation (propagandists, agitators, etc.) might come to take instructions of a committee or give their accounts. Such quarters are established in a house visited naturally every day (or even night) in all hours (if possible) by many persons, such as a physician's house, a trade house etc. The addresses are to be communicated to the visitors in all their details, in order that they might find their way without asking anybody.

Concluding remarks.—The statutes of the party are secret and known by the members only in those points which concern members of the respective degrees.

The terroristic organisation is composed of a central detachment to the Central Committee and flying terroristic detachments. The action of the terroristic organisation comprehends—

(1) Preparation of terroristic acts—

- (a) Instruction of terrorists (a very cautious choice of members).
- (b) Establishing of laboratories.
- (c) Establishing of conspirative quarters.
- (d) Observation.
- (e) Preparation of means of escape of terrorist and a place where he might be concealed.

(2) The execution of an act.

APPENDIX B 6 (x).

EXPOSITION OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY METHODS.

Found at a revolutionary resort in Calcutta on the 2nd September 1909.

EXHIBIT 36—NANGLA DACOITY CASE.

For about fifty years a political revolution has been going on in Russia. Nowadays about two to three hundred people are dying every month in these affairs. Thousands of roubles are being looted. Hundreds of people are being sent to Siberia and banished to other countries. The revolutionists there are still divided into many sections. Of the diverse sections, (namely), anarchists, nihilists, black band, sociologists, etc., the black band section act most hostilely to the other sections. They are not much inferior in power to the other revolutionists. However that may be, the sociologist section is in all respects the best, and gradually the other sections are being amalgamated with that section. Even in the midst of these dreadful obstacles, this section is daily advancing along the path of progress.

Some particulars of what I heard from one or two leading persons of that section, and what I witnessed of the proceedings of a body belonging to that section in a foreign country, are briefly related.

To be admitted into their ranks in a general way, one has to go to the place of any business or trade publicly carried on by that community. There are no terms or conditions of first admission. They do not ask for any information, such as name and address. An imaginary name is given. No one sees another in one's home. There are separate rendezvous assigned for the purpose of meeting for the purpose of consultation.

Places of business where every one has free access and yet where one may without the knowledge of any other person talk, as necessary, with any particular person, such as bathing establishments, eating-houses, drinking houses, restaurants, etc., dispensaries, schools are maintained and managed with that view by the community. Such a signal is kept at these places as would show to a person from afar, before entering, that the coast is clear (literally, that the place is free from danger) for the time, that is to say, that no suspicious person is there, or that nobody is watching there at the time. Then if the man entering so wishes, he may assist the community by doing gratuitous work as long as he wishes every day at the aforesaid place of business. While thus frequenting (the place) his feelings and tendencies are watched by the community. If as a result thereof they do not consider the man entering a business-like man, they do nothing further in regard to him. So long as he does not leave of his own accord, or does not do anything unsatisfactory, he remains as a sympathiser. The sole object of doing so is to increase the number of the supporters of the revolutionary doctrine. Of the 80,000 Russian residents in the city of Paris, there are 50,000 or 60,000 of such supporters.

But if they consider the man entering a business-like man, then if three among these who had been shadowing him to observe his nature, character, feelings, and tendencies, recommend, he is admitted into the business department of the community. After this he has to remain for some time in the committee for training workers and to learn and practise revolutionary procedure. In that committee there are many sub-committees, composed of different persons for learning particular subjects. One has to remain in touch for a while with every sub-committee. The arrangement is somewhat like the discipline extending over five years enjoined in the "Devi Chaudhurani."

During the course of such training one is subjected to trials from time to time. If unsuccessful in passing the test, one has to suffer the severest penalty. For instance, at the time of learning to keep secrets the novice is told for a truth now a common thing, now a thing most surprising and most dangerous, and now an imaginary news of a nature that the human heart is most eager to divulge, and an expert in the work is appointed to elicit the secret by any means. If the secret ooze out, then the severest penalty has to be suffered. If thus repeatedly unsuccessful in passing tests, he is expelled from the business department of the community, and has to remain under surveillance for some time.

But if one is successful in all departments, he is admitted into that department in whose work he is most proficient. Two of that department remain sponsors for him. In a special case, if one can show special aptitude and can produce the recommendation of three noted sociologists belonging to any country, he may, without being subjected to training, obtain admission to any desired place in the business department of the community.

Several departments of their own have been specially formed, capable of competing with those departments of the sovereign power that are employed for the suppression of revolution, after enquiries had been made and special experience gained about every procedure, place of business, and officer thereof. That is to say, in order to compete with the police, especially with the detective police, a body of revolutionary detectives has been formed, composed of particularly intelligent and business-like men. The numbers of revolutionary officers and of Government spies are about equal. It would be no exaggeration to say that it is almost impossible to ascertain which of them will have turned or may turn a spy, under the inducement of obtaining reward from the

master and when. Many themselves form a revolutionary party, and get revolutionary work accomplished and then themselves betray the whole party; and having obtained reward from the master, leave the country and flee to some convenient foreign land and pass the rest of their lives happily there. Induced by this prospect of obtaining reward, many a poor man afflicted all through life by poverty has adopted the hated occupation of a detective as the only means of earning a livelihood. The revolutionists are shadowed day and night by revolutionary detectives just as they are shadowed by Government spies. In this work both parties are ready to give life and take life, and to bear all the many unbearable hardships of life. But the detective stories and nihilistic mysteries that we read appear extremely fanciful and unnatural in comparison with the above affair.

It would be no exaggeration to say that there does not appear to be any such word as confidence in their vocabulary (*lit.*, among them). Workers deal with one another with this impression or suspicion constantly present in their minds, that even the most faithful, devoted, selfless and old worker may by a combination of circumstances become unfaithful and turn an enemy to the cause.

The keeping of secrets is as the life of the revolutionary party. The learning and practising of this constitutes the main element of training in secret revolutionary procedure. Unless extremely necessary, it is forbidden to pronounce any word relating to revolution. No member of any department but the propaganda or literary department engages in political discussion, criticism or conversation. For the decision of or consultation on any particular point, a number of members, not exceeding ten, assemble in meeting in accordance with the prescribed rules. Otherwise, it is permissible to say anything only to that member of the party by its withholding from whom the interests of the party may suffer, and only so much on a subject by the withholding of which the work may suffer. Excepting the leader of the party, nothing, though comparatively less secret, is said, merely to satisfy curiosity or to afford pleasure, or because it is fit to be heard, even to a particularly faithful worker or to one granting pecuniary aid by the saying of which there is no immediate prospect of aid to the accomplishment of any special revolutionary work.

Unless extremely necessary no worker ever gets an opportunity of knowing or hearing of another worker. If for the sake of business it becomes necessary for two workers to know each other or to meet, it is forbidden to ask or speak about any personal matter outside the business in view. If either of the two violate this rule, the other is bound to report it to the judicial department and have him punished. If one member hide the fault of another, he is awarded a penalty equal to that of a traitor. Everybody in Russia, be he a native of the country or a foreigner, has to keep a passport. It contains a statement of name, residence and character. The police may inspect it at any time, and if anyone fails to produce it he is at once arrested. For this reason, every member of the revolutionary party keeps one or two passports under assumed names. One member of the party cannot see the genuine passport of another.

Nothing about the revolution is put in black and white. Where absolutely necessary it is written out in code. The name and address of any leading member of the party, in particular, is never put in black or white. Nay, even blotting paper is not used. The Government Postal Department is never trusted. There are arrangements for the transmission of letters by their own men. They never have their photographs taken from a fear of being marked. They form many styles of signature and handwriting.

In Russia there is a department organised by very able men to read out the ciphers of the revolutionary party. Their work is very extraordinary. They can read very easily any ordinary ciphers. For instance, they have determined how many times is any particular letter used, on an average, in any particular language. On receipt of a letter written out in code they make out a list of the ciphers. According to the comparative frequency of any particular cipher they assume it to be a particular letter. It may not, of course, tally exactly. But if a part tally, it is easy for them to decipher the rest. For example, the letter "e" is the oftenest used in the English language. Among the ciphers, the one that most frequently occurs is assumed to be "e." In this way they make comparisons with every letter in a language. They decipher (letters) by the employment of many such devices and means.

If any letter be written in sympathetic ink, they make it visible by some means or other, and in place of it forge another letter in the same kind of sympathetic ink and handwriting, and send it to its proper destination. Thus there is nothing to arouse suspicion except a little delay in the transmission of the letter.

They can at once make an exact copy in similar ink and with a similar pen of any handwriting which they have seen but once. The process of opening envelopes so as to leave no trace is also known to them. They are also able to read even a completely new language. I have heard that those codes are the best under which a large number of different ciphers can be used for a single letter at pleasure, and which may be easily forged, and which have not to be learnt by heart at a cost of trouble, or which have not to be written out. In another letter several forms of ciphers are given. In fine, they write with the impression firmly fixed in their minds that whatever is once written is most likely to fall into the hands of the enemy.

The course which is to be adopted, and what is to be said and how, are taught specially to each beforehand according to the department and to the nature of such work. This is a principal lesson to be taught by the department for the teaching of revolutionary work. He who is arrested by the police is bound to do and say things without any regard to his own interests, but with sole regard to the interests of the

public cause. Any violation of this (rule) is punished by the community with severe penalty, and even with death.

If any revolutionist be arrested by the police while actually engaged in the doing of revolutionary work, then as a rule he does or says nothing that would show to what part of the country he belongs. In such cases they conceal their real names, addresses and nationality and give imaginary names and addresses. Even if he may have had good proof that the police have arrested him with a full knowledge of everything about him, it is forbidden to him to utter a single word with his own lips. Only he among the revolutionists who has ordinarily the faculty of giving well thought out and cautious answers has permission to deceive the police by giving false names and addresses or by making false statements. Otherwise, to the generality (of revolutionists) it is forbidden to open their lips when caught in the act. For whatever is said in such cases to exculpate oneself is not accepted by the police and does no good. Moreover, if the police get anything in the statements made by the accused person that is in the least advantageous to themselves they accept it. The fact of an arrested person giving no answers to questions put by the police or shutting one's mouth is in no way disadvantageous to his proving his innocence. The police cannot, in such cases, compel (the arrested person) by any lawful means to answer questions. Besides, a human being is not omnipotent. Be a man ever so intelligent, if he falls into the hands of one more intelligent than himself, he unwillingly says many things against himself. If, however, instead of being caught in the act a man may be arrested by the police on suspicion, he is then at liberty to give names and addresses as directed by the community beforehand.

Those revolutionists who are supposed to be incapable of enduring oppression have, with the approval of the community, always to keep arms fit for the commission of suicide or hold themselves always ready to commit suicide by poison. But Russians are remarkably capable of enduring oppression.

There are men of various religions persuasions in the Russian revolutionary party. There are strong religious differences between the Protestants, the Roman Catholics, the members of the Greek Church, the Jews, the Armenians and the Musalmans. There is also no union between the inhabitants of the different provinces of Russia. The Caucasians and the Poles have occupied the foremost place in revolutionary work. This want of union is an obstacle to the achievement of revolutionary aims. But there is gradually much progress even in this respect. Under the Russian law marriage between members of two different religious persuasions is forbidden. A strong endeavour is made to perpetuate difference between different religious persuasions by the employment of many such improper means. To the members of the revolutionary party it is forbidden to discuss or argue on religion, nationality or sect. Liberty, equality and fraternity are their sole aim.

At first there were in their country many parties holding diverse views. Gradually they are coming under one (common) centre. They have a central association under which there are several provincial associations, each of which has under it several divisional associations, each of which latter has under it district, subdivisonal and village associations. Each association is not to have more than from three to ten members. In the central association there are seven to nine members, and this number diminishes by degrees, so that the number admitted to a village association is three.

The central association is composed of nine persons. The members of this association are elected by the votes of the elected members of each provincial association. Thus the members of each association, except the village association, are elected by the association immediately under it, while the President and the Secretary are elected by the members of the Committee itself. The members of the village association are elected exclusively by the followers of the revolutionary principles in each quarter of the village or the town. But if any member, President or Secretary do anything that is unsatisfactory to the public, he may be deposed by votes. If it be (for) any specially secret reason, he is deposed with the approval of the central association.

Each association guides itself in obedience to the rules of the association immediately above it. For a petty fault every one, from the President to an ordinary member, is accused before the revolutionary tribunal by any member or members and are punished by jury trial. They have a Penal Code of their own like our Penal Code. The trial is only conducted by men versed in the revolutionary law of the type of pleaders and mukhtears. There are penalties and due provisions prescribed for each offence. Special care is taken to give practical effect to the penalty that is awarded. By a particular department of this tribunal the acts of particular individuals in the ranks of the enemy are also reviewed and penalty awarded, and strenuous efforts are made to carry it out to the letter.

As the punishment of death is awarded for capital offences like treachery on the part of (members of) the revolutionary party, so do those who display capital virtues like selflessness and fearlessness in the revolutionary cause establish prior claims to the office of President, and their relations receive donations or monthly aid, are transferred or promoted to convenient places or posts. As according to one's faults one is punished with different penalties, such as transfer to a bad place, degradation to an inferior post, suspension or dismissal, fine or employment in work involving hard bodily labour, so is one according to one's merit encouraged with reward promotion and honour.

Revolutionary works are divided into the six following categories. In all associations, from the central one down to village ones, the remaining five works, excluding the sixth, are entrusted separately to (different) members. Where the number of members is in excess, the work of each department is entrusted to more than one member. Where the number of members is deficient, the work of more than one department is entrusted to a single member:—

(1) *The legislative department.*—The function of this department is deliberation, legislation, dispensation of justice, administration, inspection and enquiry, appointment, transfer, dismissal, etc.

(2) *The propaganda department.*—The function of this department is to introduce among the public, openly or secretly, the following subjects for consideration, namely, the real distress of the country; its cause; a political revolution its only cure (*lit.*, preventive); the justice, usefulness, and necessity of a political revolution; a balancing of its advantages and disadvantages; madness in consequence of a longing for that happiness; man's consciousness of his own rights; the injustice and unnaturalness of man's domination over man; the duties of man; liberty, equality, and fraternity; every king undesirable; democracy as sanctioned by socialism; its relative excellence, its procedure, its possibility for the country; the future progress and happiness of the country (to be expected) from it; the necessity, possibility and means of fighting the enemy of the country; future advantages of fighting, etc.

With a view to making these things subjects of consideration in the public mind, recourse has been mainly had to literature, music, and painting—literature, such as journals, secret leaflets, books and pamphlets, conversation, discussion, etc.; music, such as songs, theatres, gramophones, etc.; painting, such as pictures, likenesses, magic-lanterns, bioscopes, etc. With this object translations from many languages of books written by wise men have been collected, and reading-rooms and libraries have been established at places. Very cheap editions of valuable books on the above subjects are brought out and sold. Books and pamphlets breathing the above sentiments are being published every day. Music and painting are specially fitted to kindle the above sentiments among the unlettered masses. The kindling of this sentiment among the public is one of the main objects of the revolutionary party. With that object songs and pictures calculated to kindle ever new sentiments are being published every day. Theatres and picture galleries have been established at places. Besides these, acts calculated to awaken the sympathy of the public are every day being done.

(3) *The Finance department.*—Well-off members of the associations, members of the party, and sympathisers pay subscriptions according to their means. Some income is also derived from trades, factories, and agricultural operations conducted with the capital of the revolutionary associations. But the major portion of the money is obtained by dacoity and by the imposition of a cess on the zamindars and (other) rich people. Money is also often obtained by forged receipts, cheques, drafts, etc., of unpopular banks, of businesses conducted by unpopular wealthy men, and of Government treasuries.

All accounts of the incomes of all associations from the central one down to village ones are submitted to the central association. With the approval of the central association, the moneys are very safely deposited at different places (countries?). Money is chiefly deposited with some foreign bank. It is kept in foreign countries from a fear that, if kept within the country, the enemy may come to know of it and rob the booty. An advance estimate of local expenditure is submitted to the central association for being laid before it. When approved by the central association, the money is paid to the district and lower associations from the district treasury. Associations higher than the district ones receive money for such expenditure from the provincial treasury, while the central association receives it from its own treasury. Special precaution is adopted with regard to money. They have realised from long experience that public funds, though collected for a very good object and by great efforts, is generally misappropriated by some one among the managers. The management of this department is therefore entrusted to particularly trustworthy persons, and (they) are changed from time to time. Severe penalties are prescribed for light offences committed by men in this department. Detectives are employed by the association to detect improper expenditure and embezzlement.

There are several rules relating to expenditure according to which money is credited and debited. If the money collected by a local association do not exceed a prescribed amount, half of it may be spent at the pleasure of the local association. If the money obtained by dacoity be within the prescribed amount, a prescribed portion of it is spent at the pleasure of the gang of dacoits. Thus in regard to trades, etc., also they guide themselves in obedience to rules. The Russian revolutionary party is greatly in want of money. The country is a very poor one. Unless extremely necessary, no member is aided with money for his own maintenance. Every one defrays his own expenses as best he may by labouring and, besides, aids the association to the best of his means. In the course of a conversation with a leading worker I asked him how it was that, though such an important and able worker, he yet passed his days in such distress. He replied "The cause of my country and association is in still greater distress for want of money. If we have taken the serving of our great common cause as the sole object of our lives, and if we have taken that to be our one duty in life, we ought not to take a single farthing for ourselves from such a poor association. Rather we should try to give as much as we can. You are so much surprised at seeing me probably because your country has not yet become alive to the duty of achieving the

end in such a spirit. But the great bulk of our people are dutiful in that respect, and that is why we do not so much wonder at it. We think that we have the right to spend only so much for ourselves as the poorest man in our country obtains to defray his own expenses. If we spend more, we feel that we are doing something wrong." Saying this, he referred to the chronic semi-starvation of a third of the population of our India and put me really to shame. Before that I was proud of the thought that I had not come to do the work of my country at my country's expense, and that I was defraying my expenses out of money earned by myself.

(4) *Terroristic department*.—This department is the main organ of the revolution. It is divided into two sections—(1) a deliberative and (2) an executive section. The deliberative section is divided into two branches—(a) conspiring, (b) detective. The executive section also is divided into two branches—assassins and assailants, and preparers of means of assassination and terrorism.

The function of this department is to kill or otherwise punish unpopular Government officers, policemen or detectives hampering or shadowing revolutionary work, traitors to the country that are unpopular, obstructive of revolutionary work, or refractory members treacherous and disobedient to the revolutionary party; to commit dacoities; to procure arms from Government arsenals; to manufacture arms, explosives and other deadly things; to conduct secret presses; to act as spies on the police; to take service or employment in disguise at various places; to forge receipts, cheques, drafts, etc.; to realise cess, etc.

This department works quite independently of other departments. The members of this department remain in disguise at every important place; the members of other departments can know nothing of the members of this department, nay, unless extremely necessary, one member of this department gets no opportunities of knowing another member. A trustworthy but comparatively inefficient member of this body is appointed its ostensible head. The real head of the department screens himself behind him and does the work. The former person is generally caught and sentenced to death. In many instances such bogus leaders are selected by the casting of lots. The whole work of this department is vested in an itinerant band. It has branches at many places, and every member follows ostensibly some occupation or other.

The main object of this department is to exasperate the royalists and through them to bring down terrible oppression by ruling authorities on the sleeping population of the country, and thereby make known to the people of the country their own miserable condition, to proclaim the dignity of strength, to punish royalist rich men, zamindars, officers, etc., who are unwilling to pay cesses, and to apply remedies to the diseases of treachery and hostility to the motherland, etc.

Some of the members of this department enter in disguise various places of business of Government (*lit.*, the royal party), and gather information with a view to the furtherance of present and future work.

(5) *Department for special training*.—The function of this department is to teach and exercise in the process of manufacturing explosives, arms and other revolutionary things, and to conduct trades, factories, etc.

(6) *Foreign department*.—The function of this department is to devise means for the clandestine import of arms; to establish in foreign countries arsenals at the cost of one's own country for the manufacture of arms (there) by one's own countrymen; to learn the art of warfare, etc., and to establish schools at the cost of one's own country to teach that art; to deliver speeches, write in newspapers, and interview prominent men with a view to gaining the sympathy of foreign nations; to establish safe routes and asylums for refugees from the country, and to conduct presses, etc.

Eminently intelligent and thoroughly selfless men of adult age and worldly experience have been and are being sent on these errands.

APPENDIX B 6 (xi).

DISTRICT ORGANIZATION SCHEME.*

Found on Ramesh Acharji, convicted in the Barisal Conspiracy Case.

EXHIBIT 38—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

There shall be a person in charge of the headquarters. Under him there shall be a District Organizer in charge of each district. The work of each such subordinate centre (district) shall be conducted by one person. But he shall be entirely responsible for all his work to the person in charge of the headquarters. If any work has to be got done by the headquarters through a subordinate centre, it shall be done with the knowledge of the officer in charge of it.

DISTRICT ORGANIZATION.

1. All the work of a subordinate centre shall be conducted under the orders of the person in charge of it. He shall read the Organization Scheme five times over before entering the arena.

2. The person in charge of a subordinate centre shall again divide his district into various parts according to the (territorial) divisions of the Government. An intelligent and warm-hearted man shall be vested with the charge of each such sub-division.

3. The District Organizer shall realize from each member a monthly subscription. This income shall be spent on district organization.

4. The District Organizer shall first ascertain the number of Entrance or M. E. schools or colleges in his centre and then bring under influence at least one student of each class in such schools or colleges (and) through him preach the propaganda (*lit.*, *bhab* or sentiment) in that class or year.† There shall be maintained a connection with a high class student under the master or professor of that school or college. There shall be maintained a connection by such high class or year student with the heads of other classes and years.

5. If it is not possible to assemble in a public manner in some public place to discuss or arrange about work, particular members shall assemble on the pretext of *Harir lut†* or some other pretext.

6. The District Organizers shall seize every opportunity of making acquaintance with all classes of people. They must pick up some knowledge of all subjects, such as trade, medicine, engineering, etc.

7. Such secrecy and arrangement shall be maintained and made about work that no one can know anything that he ought not to know.

8. When sending a preacher to any place, the District Organizer shall make him read the Organization Scheme five times over and thoroughly explain this scheme to him and give him a good idea of the organization. He shall not allow any preacher to make out a copy of the Organization Scheme or these rules.

(a) No one shall, without the permission of the Organizer, take a copy of the "Promise Rules and Rules for Membership."

9. On the return of preachers from the mufassal, the person in charge shall take from them the balance of money left after expenditure together with accounts. If a preacher sent from the chief centre goes to a subordinate centre and demands money for expenditure from the Organizer of that district, the latter shall take accounts from him and then give money. This money shall be advanced as a loan and recovered at the end of the month from the chief centre by the making out of a bill.

10. To recruit a boy full particulars about him—name, father's name and occupation, whether parents are living or dead, the guardian's name, relationship and occupation, age, attainments and occupation, whether married or unmarried, (if married) whether there are any children, whether there are unmarried or widowed sisters, pecuniary condition, whether he is or is to be the bread-winner of the family, whether there is any Government officer, and particularly any police officer, among his relations and full particulars about the description of him, his character, the "idea" of the public about him, etc.—shall be communicated to the headquarters: and so long as the Chief Organizer does not pass any order the District Organizer shall take the entire charge of his education. All work in this connection shall be done under the orders of the headquarters.

11. Endeavours should be made to have a library in each division.

12. The local head shall observe every week whether the members are properly observing the "Promise Rules" and give orders and instructions for the rectification of "defects."

13. The District Organizer shall take particular care of the education of students.

14. The District Organizer shall care more for having the members well-educated and giving them good ideas than for having the numbers increased.

* Translation from Bengali.

† A class in a college is popularly called "year" by Bengali students.

‡ Distribution of sweetmeats offered to the god Hari among those assembled to witness the ceremony.

15. The District Organizer shall arrange to spread the "idea" most in Entrance schools and colleges; for it is unmarried youths who are the depositories of enthusiastic zeal and capable of doing work and self-sacrifice.

16. If the District Organizer discovers any defect on a review of our "past incidents" he should arrange to have them "reformed."

17. Every work shall be undertaken after deliberation. If the work should produce any evil result, endeavours should be made to remedy it instead of regretting it.

18. If any responsible and important work has to be done, it shall be done with the permission of the Chief Organizer.

19. If a boy of the acquaintance of some member under the District Organizer be in another district, his descriptive roll should be sent to that district through the headquarters. At the time of sending this descriptive roll his name and residence, and conduct, zeal, enterprise, attainments and skill in gymnastics shall be communicated in writing. People of one district shall not exercise authority over people of another.

20. The District Organizer shall divide the members into two classes—*sanyasis* (ascetics) and householders, and entrust everyone with the work for which he is fit. He shall not entrust any work to any unfit person.

21. The District Organizer shall take particular care that the thoughts (*lit.*, heart) of any member are not diverted from the country to any undesirable object.

22. The District Organizer shall not keep back anything from a man who is sent from headquarters for any special work and shall help him as far as possible in the work he has to do. Beyond this one shall not reveal anything to the other. Failure to observe secrecy in connection with this even in small matters shall constitute a violation of the law of discipline.

23. Several places shall be provided where members may meet from time to time and discuss that matter.

24. Every District Organizer shall procure a new settlement or Surveyor-General's office map of his district.

25. If in any district another party have arms and if harm is found to be done to the country by them, then, with the permission of the headquarters, such arms should be anyhow secured. This work should be done very cautiously, so that they may know nothing of it.

26. Without an autograph letter of the Head Organizer or Organizer in charge no District Organizer shall give arms to anybody.

27. If a District Organizer wants to post any man in any school or at any other post, he shall communicate the following particulars about that man, in writing, to headquarters:—Caste, age, qualifications, the salary to be paid, the condition of the place, whether the man under whom he will have to work is a man of our party, whether, if posted there, it will be of any special advantage to our work, etc.

28. If any member make any accusation against another, instead of relying solely upon that report he shall first of all ask the accused person about it; if the man confesses, he shall point out his fault and tell him to reform himself; if the man denies it, he shall make a private inquiry on the point and do what is proper to be done under the circumstances. In short, nothing shall be done after hearing one party alone.

29. No one shall be made a member all of a sudden. If anyone appears to be fit, he should be made to promise to observe the rules of membership.

30. Admission fees shall be sent to the headquarters with name, residence, etc.

31. No confidential member shall, without the special permission of the Head Organizer, write a letter to relations, kinsfolk or friends. If necessary, it should be sent through the head officer. Without the permission of the superior officer no one shall send directly any letter to any place.

32. Every Organizer shall have an assistant for each department, so that even in his absence the assistant can carry on all local work efficiently.

33. The Organizer and his assistant shall not, on any important business, leave their stations at one and the same time for any other place.

34. The names of those who have in their custody arms or papers shall not be mentioned in this report. A personal visit shall be paid to the headquarters and full information obtained as to their names, residence, character, etc. Those who have arms or confidential papers in their custody shall not take part in any "violent work" or "organization" or ordinary affray, that is to say shall not take part in any work, or go to any place in which they run any risk.

35. The District Organizer shall submit to the headquarters quarterly reports under the following headings:—

- (1) The respective numbers of the members of the different castes inhabiting the locality.
- (2) Approximate numbers and description of the literate, the illiterate, the rich, the poor, beggars, labourers, cultivators and tradesmen:
- (3) The number of local members, the number of boys of exceptional enthusiasm and their names, age, fathers names, whether parents are living or dead, married or unmarried, residence, pecuniary condition (by what means the family is maintained), whether there are in their families or among their relations any police officers, and, if so, full particulars about and description of them, attainments and occupation; whether they have any special aptitude or taste for any particular subject, such as surveying, engineering, farming and other agricultural work, etc., power of

- writing, press work, mechanical work, *e.g.*, repairing and fitting arms, loading and preparing ammunition, chemistry, physics, carpentry and blacksmith's work, rowing, shooting, *i.e.*, marksmanship, poling and hauling boats and driving railway and steamer engines.
- (4) Full description of the natural scenery, length and breadth, houses, trees, gardens, woods, ways and paths, meadows, land and water of the locality.
 - (5) Convenience or inconvenience of communication with places outside, the number and description of land ways and waterways, such as which path or waterway leads which way, etc.
 - (6) Full description of fairs and markets.
 - (7) The articles which are produced and available in abundance as well as those that are scarce, with prices thereof.
 - (8) Whether there are in any place educational institutions (Primary, Middle English, Middle Bengali, English School, College, *Tol** etc), dispensaries and hospitals, libraries, associations, insurance companies, jute offices, hotels and gymnasiums, and if so, how many of them are there. The situation and distance of post and telegraph office and police-station.
 - (9) The physical and mental condition of the members and the local people and their dealings.
 - (10) At which places of that district (or centre) there are men of our party and the distance of such places from each other.
 - (11) Historical and geographical description of any ancient temple, mosque or any other ancient monument, such as tanks, roads, houses, and trees; whether there are any secluded places; if so, where.
 - (12) Accounts of receipts and disbursements.
 - (13) The number of mischievous, hostile, characterless and blacksliding men and parties with full particulars about and description of them.
 - (14) Whether there is any rival party, their arms and ammunition, with full particulars about them and description of their strength.
 - (15) Wants and grievances.
 - (16) Whether the "Promise Rules and Rules for Membership" are being properly observed, or which of them are being violated and for what reason and to what extent.

APPENDIX B 6 (xii).

RULES FOR MEMBERSHIP.*

Found on Ramesh Acharyi, convicted in the Barisal Conspiracy Case.

EXHIBIT 39—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

OM BANDE MATARAM.

1. At the time of admission members shall make a vow and pay an admission-fee of one rupee. Every member shall pay a monthly subscription under the directions of the local head.

2. Every member shall be an ideal character to the public.

3. Every member shall observe the rules of Brahmacharya (celibacy and chastity) framed by us. The use of unclean food, such as fowl's flesh, onion, garlic, etc., and of any kind of intoxicant is strictly prohibited.

4. Each shall be a man of character, extraordinarily industrious, capable of bearing privations, persevering and untiringly self-sacrificing.

5. Members shall read the Gita every day.

6. Members shall, if need be, assist to the best of their abilities in nursing the sick, disposing of dead bodies, helping the lame, the blind, etc., relieving the distressed and protecting the chastity of chaste women.

7. Each member (a) shall read Vaishnav books, the Koran, the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the Bible and other religious books, and assimilate their essence;

(b) shall read the lives of great men of different religious persuasions, as well as the following books:—(1) "Bharate Vivekananda" (Vivekananda in India); (2) "Karmayoga;" (3) "Bartaman Bharat" (India of the present day); (4) "Prachya-Pashchatya" (The East and the West); (5) "Patrabali" (Letters); "Swadhinatar Itihas" (History of Independence); "Desher Katha" (Topics relating to the country); "Aryanari" (Aryan woman); "Aryakirti" (Achievements of the Aryans); "Anandamath;" "Pratap Singh;" "Sivaji;" "Pratapaditya;" "Jaliyat Olive" (Olive the forger); "Matsini-o-Garibaldir Jivancharit" (Lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi); "Napoleon, Washingtoner Prabhrtir Jivani" (Lives of Napoleon, Washington, etc.).

8. Each shall regularly read newspapers and keep himself posted in the news of each country and think over it.

9. Each shall know a little of the homœopathic, bio-chemic or some other cheap system of medical treatment and shall learn veterinary medicine.

10. Every member shall act in obedience to the orders of the authority (person in charge) of the place where he may be. No one shall do, without the permission of the authority, any work other than that with which he is entrusted for the time being.

11. The subordinates shall strictly obey the orders of the particular person who is entrusted with any particular work.

12. Except for weighty reasons no member shall leave his place without informing his superior. If compelled to go away without leave he shall afterwards inform his superior of particulars with his address.

13. Letters shall always be sent enclosed in envelopes and shall contain an account of the writer, the date and the place, and shall be burnt as soon as they have been read.

14. Before sending any correspondence referring to any matter connected with the organization to any place, a member shall give it to the head and he shall arrange to have it sent to its destination.

15. No "marked" man shall publicly proselytise (*lit.*, be active) in any school or place or spend his time in such school or place.

16. Every member may get entrusted with responsible work if he displays a self-sacrificing spirit, and no distinction is made between old and new members. The opinion of every member is taken, and, if found suitable after discussion, is acted upon.

17. Each shall look upon this as a military organization, and any violation of its rules shall involve punishment in proportion.

18. Every member shall have the idea present in his mind that he is bringing about a revolution with a view to the establishment of righteousness, and not for enjoyment. He shall see that he does not fall back from this ideal.

19. If one looks at the history of Italy and France one finds that they missed their real aim. Every care must be taken that we do not, like them, miss our real aim.

20. If a member has any enquiry to make, he shall make it of his superior. The latter shall, if need be, receive instruction from his superior officer.

21. When a member gets into any scrape he shall first of all do his best to get out of it. If he sees any risk of falling into the hands of the enemy, he shall up to the last moment defend himself and try to flee away.

22. Any person included (in the organization) who does anything to "frustrate" the "cause" shall be subjected to condign punishment.

(Frustrating Causes.)

Hypocrisy, falsehood, gaining of one's personal ends by getting into this organization, waste of public money, arms and ammunition, garrulousness and failure to observe secrecy—those who shall do these antagonistic acts shall be counted separately among the enemies of the country.

APPENDIX B 6 (xiii).

SAMITI RULES.*

Found in 1916 with Mauser cartridges, printing type, and seditious leaflets.

SAMITI RULES.

Every patriot of the country and virtuous youth can be a member of this samiti and every member, when once enlisted, must abide by the following rules:—

1. Every particular of this samiti will be observed with the greatest secrecy and will not be divulged to anyone else during my lifetime.
2. I will be always ready to do any sort of work for the deliverance of the Motherland, and if occasion arises I will not hesitate even to sacrifice my life.
3. I will always be obedient to the leader and will never hesitate to carry out his orders.
4. I will never keep anything concealed from the leader and without his permission I will never do any work.
5. I will never show any eagerness to know the secrets of the samiti.
6. I will never be treacherous.
7. I will always be virtuous and of good moral character and will also lead a life of Brahmacharya.
8. I will give up selfishness in every way.
9. Except in a place of safety I will never talk about any secret matter, and will very carefully look round before the commencement of devising any plot.
10. Amongst ourselves I will always preserve unity, will love each member with a brotherly affection and will render help to the needy even at the risk of life.
11. I will never bind myself under the obligations of wedlock.
12. Every day I will practise some physical exercise, will always abstain from taking any sort of intoxicating substance and will never be seeking after comfort.
13. Every month I will contribute something to the samiti fund as my circumstances will allow.
14. With head and heart I will pray to God for the welfare of the samiti and will always have implicit faith in Him.
15. I will remain under the obligation of accepting any penalty in case of my being in any way inattentive to carry out the samiti rules and will suffer capital punishment if treacherous.

I consent to carry out the above rules in their entirety.

(Signature.)

APPENDIX B 6 (xiv).

AMULYA SARKAR'S REVOLUTIONARY PAMPHLET.

Found in the house of Amulya Sarkar, September 1916.

[Note.—The name and address of Amulya Sarkar appeared in the papers of Amrita Hazra in the room where bomb envelopes were found in 1913.]

1. Constitution of the organisation (and its requirements).
2. Responsible functions of the heads of the organisation.
3. Relation between the centre and sub-centre.
4. Foreign relations.
5. Foreign embassy.
6. Relation with the rival party, if any, in the centre town.
7. Finance.
10. Paper and pamphlets.
11. The scope and province of the League.

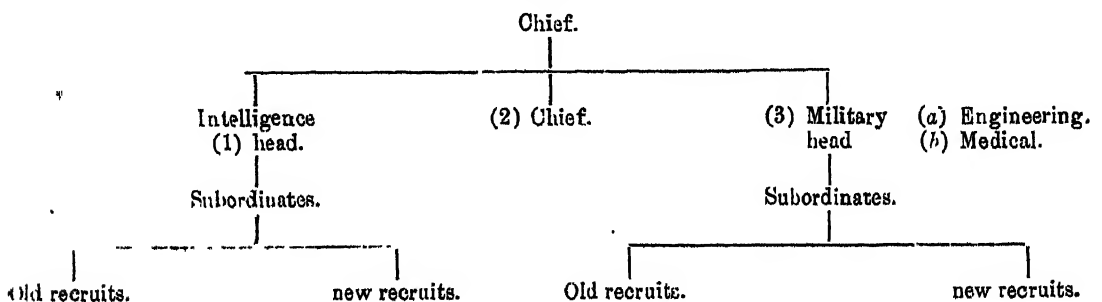
THE SCOPE AND PROVINCE OF THE LEAGUE.

Salvation is the goal to which every member of the League wishes to proceed. Salvation is not possible without the revival of the ancient Hindu spiritual culture in all its spiritual phases. The spiritual idea and thought have for their seat a healthy brain and a healthy mind in a healthy body. It demands formation of national character on the basis of national education in indigenous institutions, under independent native management. It requires first of all political independence in its entirety. To improve the resources of the country, to increase the material prosperity, to foster the causes of trade, commerce and indigenous industry, to improve cultivation by irrigation and subsidies, to manage local administrative affairs by themselves, to control proceeds and expenditure, to foster the cause of national education, full enjoyment of individual liberty,—these are the outcome of political independence. Political independence is not possible without the expulsion of the greedy and selfish foreigners from the country. They cannot be driven out without the subversion of the established Government by means of arms and munitions required for a national rising. Men and money are the two important requisites for a national rising. The whole thing in a nutshell is that the confederacy should vigorously work to gather men, money, and arms, and to organise these people into a sacred military band for the future struggle. Therefore organisation is the chief thing to which the confederacy must pay supreme attention.

EXECUTIVE BODY.

1. At the head of the organisation there should be a chief.
2. There will be an executive committee consisting of the chief and two other heads of two important departments, *e.g.*, intelligence and military.

All important measures should be discussed in a meeting of the executives. The chief will have the veto power. None other than the executives should know what things are settled in the executive committee. All orders should proceed to the subordinates through the respective heads of the various departments. One man of one department should not confer in his works with a man of another department. The order of the executive committee should be carried out by the subordinates at all hours and places. The subordinates should be very careful in disclosing the motives and programme of the whole organisation. No subordinate should discuss anything with an unknown person, though he thinks him to be a confident one. Punctuality and implicit obedience to the commander will be strictly enforced.

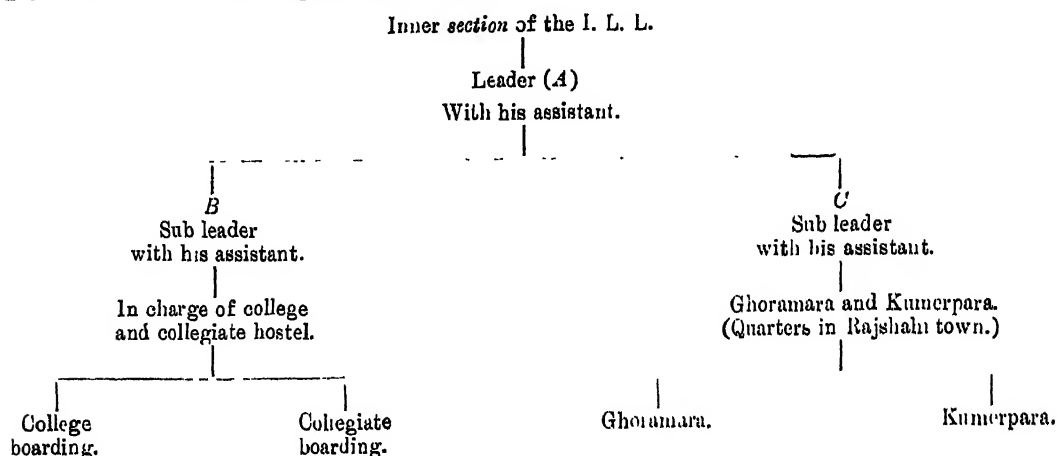


The recruited members will form an organised body having rules and regulations for their guidance.

INDIAN LIBERATING LEAGUE.

This organisation should be divided into two sections—(a) the inner section, which is a secret one and is intended only for the purpose of concealed works, and

(b) the outer one is intended for public organised works. These two organisations may work hand in hand, so that the public may take the entire body to the public philanthropists. But care should be taken not to divulge the existence of the inner section by an rash word or indiscreet remark. The inner section should be formed with the advanced members of the entire organisation.



LEADER: HIS DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES. SECTION A.

1. That the leader should be a man of many-sided activities and should have experience of at least 5 years' standing. In cases where such a person is not available, the fittest and deserving one should be elected by *B* and *C* with assistant. The assistant to the leader may be elected if he be found active and experienced.

2. That the leader should not, if possible, marry or entangle himself with his family cords.

3. He should not show or exhibit his activities in such a way as to be recognised by other members of the same organisation or of a different one. His sphere of work will be the "Secret chamber," the members of which are *B* and *C* with their respective assistants.

4. The leader should have relation or keep communication with other organisations in the same locality or elsewhere. He should know the methods of work of other organisations.

5. He should always bear it in mind that what he will do will affect one day 30 crores of people, and at present he is guiding so many youths of rising generation.

6. The leader will be held responsible for everything done by his subordinates.

7. He should be versed in the following departments:—

- (a) Recruiting.
- (b) Training (different processes of culture).
- (c) Military.
- (d) Intelligence.
- (e) Foreign Department.
- (f) Financial.
- (g) Schemes of organisation.
- (h) Public association (public works).

If he be unfit for any one of these departments, he should make up his deficiencies by suitable subordinates.

8. All business should be conducted by the joint consultation of the members of the "Secret chamber." Every decision will be subject to the approval of the leader.

9. The leader should see that the assistants of *A*, *B* and *C* are getting themselves thoroughly prepared to step into the places of their superiors in times of their removal.

10. *B* and *C* of the S.C., with their assistants, should form the "Advisory Body" to assist the leader in the works of his organisations. They should be placed in charge of a jurisdiction for which they will be held entirely responsible. They may appoint their subordinates according to their capacity and merit.

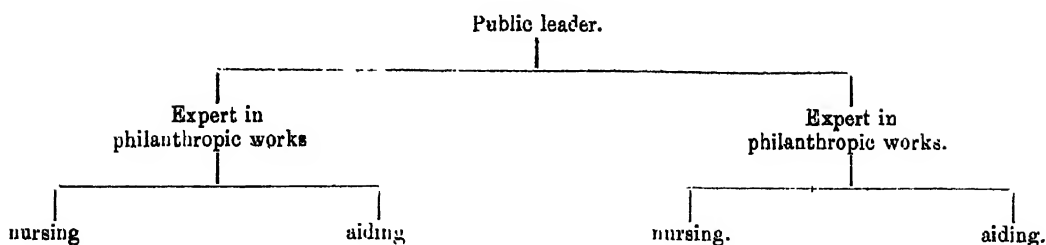
11. The members of the advisory body should abide by the rules 1—7 (regarding leadership).

12. The S.C. is the inner circle and rest should be considered as the members of the outer circle.

13. The inner circle should be kept in complete ignorance of the outer one. And their proceedings should in no way be published.

14. The leader should see that the rules of respective departments are strictly observed by any and every member of the entire organisation. The violation of these rules will be dealt with punishments as inflicted by the S.C.

The outer organisation :—for public works of utility—



No strict rules should be followed, but in no case discipline should be broken.

The recruited members should be amateur workers, who will try their best to establish like institutions in their respective areas.

Members for the inner section should be chosen in some cases from the outside section.

Daily routine work.—Morning ablutions. One should leave his bed at 4-30 A.M. in summer and 5 A.M. in the winter. After easing himself, one should wash his face and body and, if possible, should take a bath. Cloth worn in the night should be changed. Prayer, as liked, should be made but prayers for gaining manliness and removing weakness are specially requested. At least 10 *slokas* of *Gita* should be read. The aforesaid works should be finished by 6 A.M. in the summer and 6-30 A.M. in the winter. If bath is not taken, one should walk at least for 10 minutes. Talking is forbidden. Light refreshment is required.

Reading.—One should read from 6 A.M. to 9-30 A.M. in the morning, but books should be read after studying the school lessons. At the time of reading, unnecessary talks and gossips are forbidden. Without any special reasons, one should go through his daily lesson even once.

Midday ablutions: Bath.—One should begin using oil from the lower part of his body to the upper. Oil should be applied on the head last of all. Using oil on Sunday is forbidden. One should apply water on his head before he emerges his body into the water. Body should be perfectly cleaned, when accustomed oil should not be used on Thursday. If possible, attempts should be made for a swimming race on Sunday.

Meals.—Gobbling is forbidden. At least one should take some minutes in taking his meal; one should masticate his food properly. Once a week or on Sunday fish should not be taken. Over-eating is forbidden, specially at night. Special care should be taken in an invitation or a feast, so that there may not be any over-eating—specially at night. Rest for at least 15 minutes should be taken after meals. One should fast on the 11th day of the moon (*Ekadashi* day) and take light refreshment in the night when accustomed. Fasting should be observed on the night of the new and full moon. Taking salt on the morning of Sunday and Thursday is forbidden. One should not drink water during meals, but should drink it 15 minutes after the meal is taken. Taking bazar sweets is strictly forbidden, but it can be taken in a very small quantity during invitation. Sweets should not be taken on bait or from other persons. Stale and rotten things should never be taken. On the whole, diet should be so taken, keeping in view the preservation of health. Over-eating is strictly forbidden immediately before or after hard labour, *Betels*, cigarettes, tobacco, and other spiritous articles should not be taken but *haritaki* can be taken after meals.

School.—So far as practicable the rules and regulations of the schools should be observed, discipline should not be neglected. Sleeping at daytime is forbidden. Tiffin hours should be utilised in good association and talks. If possible, one should talk with good boys.

Afternoon.—After school hours one should come direct to his own house or boarding, if there be no urgent necessity for going elsewhere. After washing the face and body one should take some rest and then have some refreshment—but should not take sweets. If time allows, daily and monthly newspapers should be read. Every day *Bangali*, a daily newspaper, or the like should be read to keep information of the country and the world.

It would be better to run every day for some time. It should be arranged to run at least twice a week. There may be no objection if this be done at the time of playing football. In other days football play is forbidden. This does not affect football matches. Exercise of "*Buk-don*," "*Baithak*," "*Dumbell*," "*Mugur*," "*Parallel Bar*," "*Inclined bar*" and others are recommended. Boat-rowing, riding, cycling and others should be practised when opportunity occurs. High jump and long jump should be practised.

Rest.—It is essentially necessary to take rest after physical exercise. To take a walk in the open air is specially recommended for rest.

It is forbidden to talk at the time of physical exercise, and so in the case of taking rest. After sufficient rest is taken, one should wash his hands and feet.

Evening ablutions.—One should wash his hands, feet and body. If liked, the clothing should be changed. After that prayers should be made and religious books (*sadgrantha*) should be read. These should be done by 7-30 P.M. Then one should mind his own lesson. Rules regarding study is as before. One should go to bed at least one hour after his night meal. Over-eating should always be avoided. One should

read up to 10 P.M. in the night and go to his bed at 10-30 P.M. Before one goes to his bed he should wash his hands feet and body and then walk a little. Prayers should also be made before going to bed or some religious books should be read. Before going to bed a man should think within himself if he has neglected any of his daily duties, and if so, prayers should be made to remove that weakness.

Pure character, strong physique and strong will, belief in God and self-sacrifice create manliness. Self-gratification is not the way but self-sacrifice is the way. There is no other way except this.

DEPARTMENT E.—FOREIGN.

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT. SEC. F.

1. The important duty of the head of this dept. will be to receive and send foreign embassies. He and he alone shall have acquaintance with foreign matters, which are the following:—

- (a) Negotiation with other organisations inside and outside the centre town.
- (b) News published daily in the newspapers.
- (c) Reports of political cases as to how they are conducted.
- (d) Communication with interned suspects.
- (e) Publication of useful books and their price.
- (f) Events that are taking place outside the town.
- (g) Contemporary events of other countries beyond India.
- (h) History of the Indian National Movement.

2. Systematic accounts of these items will have to be reported and circulated among the members in their tutorial sections.

3. This department will have close affinity with the Intelligence Committee of the Intelligence department.

DEPARTMENT A.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR RECRUITMENT. SEC. B.

1. The antecedents of the recruits should be gathered as far as practicable. If any injury is done to the League through a recruit, the recruiting agent shall be responsible and pay the penalty for wrong information about or misrepresentation of the recruited person.

2. Having known his antecedents, the agent should notice (1) his present environments, (2) his outward appearance. Then the recruit should be questioned and cross-questioned, so that his mental attitude can be fully known by the agent (*e.g.*, what books has he read and which of them does he like and why, and so on).

3. If he be found fit he should be, in gradual course of time, initiated into the league; care should be taken to prevent the recruit to overstep his proper rank or circle.

4. The recruit who belongs to other organisation quite different from and contrary to that of the agent should not be meddled with.

5. Such a recruit of other party should be discouraged to leave their own organisation and join that of others.

6. The agent should be furnished with suitable information from the foreign Intelligence department regarding a recruit.

7. Two agents of the same party should in no case recruit one and the same person.

8. The recruit should know and will have communication only with his immediate superior.

9. A new recruit should be followed and espied by the agent to enquire about his movements. If anything objectionable be found, the agent should report to his immediate superior and the report should reach the "S.C." through the proper channel.

10. No recruit should be tempted with financial aid to join the league. They should rather be taught to be self-supporting.

11. In order to recruit a person, care should be taken not to bring in ostentatious exaggeration of the proceedings of the league.

12. The agent should appear before the recruit in such a light as to be attractive to and regarded by the latter at the first sight (for this special qualification).

13. The agent shall be held responsible for the public behaviour of the recruit. He should also see whether his recruitment is going through the proper course of training and doing his duty sincerely. Periodical Examinations of the recruit will bear testimony to the efficiency or inefficiency of the agent only.

14. A recruit who was formerly a member of the league if he wish to secede from the organisation should furnish sufficient reasonable grounds of his intention, and once seceded, he should be watched for his future movements.

15. A recruit who has completed his career in the centre town and is going elsewhere for his calling should keep communication only with the Inspector, who will have interview with him occasionally.

DEPARTMENT B.—TRAINING.

RULES OF TRAINING. SEC. C.

1. The course of training will be prescribed by the "S.C." from time to time and will be subject to change and modifications.
2. For systematic diffusion of knowledge and information the recruits should be divided into tutorial classes which will have respective courses to master. (For course list *vide* "Culture Chart.")
3. Scouting will form an essential part of the course which every one will have to know.
4. The recruits will be promoted to the next higher grades according to their efficiency.
5. No concession or privilege will be granted to any member to be exempted from the training.
6. Periodical examination will be taken to test the gradual progresses both moral, intellectual and physical of the recruit.
7. These trainings should be imparted in a chamber not frequented by the public.
8. The courses may be lessened according to pressure of business of the recruit.
9. The daily routine will also form a part of training.
10. The course will be divided into 3 sections—Physical, Moral, and Intellectual. (For full particulars, *vide* "Culture Chart.")

Different processes and places of recruiting.

1. Process.—By public oration, by press publications and by individual coaching.
2. Places.—Schools and colleges, places of public amusements, theatres, *jatras*, *pujas*, grand *Melas*, bridal party, excursions either by boat, or train (steamer), library halls, Zoological gardens, and Museums, in places of pilgrimages. Through private tutors, walking places, or places where public attention is not drawn. Gymnasium grounds. Football matches. In ceremonies where relatives are assembled and so on. Through philanthropic works.

Classes of recruits.—According to their place in life:—

- 1st class—boys before they reach maturity.
- 2nd class—youths before their marriage.
- 3rd class—married young men.
- 4th class—aged and worldly men.

Next, classes according to their activity and ability:—

- 1st class—boys who are prosecuting their studies.
- 2nd class—young men who will venture anything, even at the risk of their lives.
- 3rd class—those who will help with money only.
- 4th class—who has genuine sympathy only.

These classes should be grouped under respective circles.

What a recruit should know.

1. Man: his existence, why does he exist, whence has he come, why has he come to this world, what is his relation with the world, what does he owe to the world, his environments, what is his relation with those environments, his family and the duties he owes to his family, his relation with the country and his duties and obligations to it.

2. Take up the case of an Indian:—

What are the duties and obligations he owes to India, why will he think for India. Explain in this connection (1) India past, (2) India present, (3) India future in its three phases—political, religious and social. The future India will constitute our aims and ideals.

3. How to realise our aims and ideals or, in other words, how to bring about that "Future India." Find out the different methods and means of that realisation. What are the hindrances to those means and how should they be overcome. Discuss whether India should be liberated by forced institution or by constitutional agitation and grant of gradual concessions. Compare the results obtainable by both the means,—by terrorising methods and constitutional agitation.

(a) In C.A. (Constitutional Agitation) find out and point out the difficulties of public agitations by means of public means or by the press. Refer to the several "Acts" that have been passed to counteract those means.

(b) In terroristic methods—find out the risks of secret organised works, solve the money question and the question of men and arms and ammunitions. Difficulties of communication, withdrawal of public sympathy as the public is literally afraid of these things. How to unite a group of secret organisations. What should be the plan of that united organisation. Compare and enumerate the counteracting methods and measures adopted gradually by the liberators on one hand and the Government on the other. Explain in this connection the gradual progress or the liberating movements from 1905 to 1916.

4. After discussing these things if the recruit wishes to be a member of the organisation—whether of outward or of inward—admit him, having got him gone through the process of membership. Enlist him into the class in which he deserves enlistment.

(In case of an unknown recruit, try to understand his hidden motives and intentions by casual remarks, follow him to the circle of his friends. Throw certain things—written or concrete—before him and watch him—in what light he takes them, and what is his genuine attitude. Try to have him entrapped through proper channel, like a patient huntsman.)

(These are the summarised results of intellectual culture.)

Different processes of recruiting.

1. Through schoolmasters and professors of colleges. Through the drill and gymnastic masters.
2. Through the service circles, nursing associations, religious institutions and religious associations, *e.g.*, Harisabha.
3. Through the riding, rowing, and hunting excursions.
4. Through the reading clubs and librarians and newspaper agencies.
5. Through the messes and hostels, both private and public.
6. Through meritorious students and company with young boys, behaving with them as younger brothers, helping them when needed with material help.
7. Through musical associations such as theatres, *jatra* party and so on.
8. Through an influential man of public spirit.
9. Through public meetings and orations.
10. Through the different offices if possible.

Recruiting.

The recruits should be divided into 3 classes according to their merit and capability of active works. They should be carefully distinguished from the regular member of the organisation (or rather workers).

1st.—The 1st class recruits will be those who are eager enough to swallow the preachings of revolutionary gospels. They will be inquisitive enough, sincere, honest, of well-formed physis, unacquainted with any other associations or secret societies, grave but not morose, of strong moral character, daring, intelligent, respectful to their superiors, of philanthropic spirit, born of poor parents and having a very few relatives. (Boys should generally be admitted into this class.)

2nd.—The second class recruits will be those who have fully understood the situation of the country, can furnish most of the merits demanded from the 1st class recruits and are eager enough to be initiated into the organisation and to work up heart and soul with the members of the organisations.

3rd.—The 3rd class recruits may be divided into 3 sub-classes:—

- (a) Sympathisers (dry sympathy, so to speak).
- (b) Neutral public.
- (c) Material helpers from different professions.

(Pleaders may plead your case, doctors may heal up your wounds, telegraph clerks may furnish you with important news and so on.)

LIBRARY.

1. A member of the league who has got library test should take charge of the library consisting of books, magazines, and newspapers.

2. For importation of books and papers he may be assisted by the head of the foreign department. Books old and new which will contribute to form an idea of Indian Nationality and National Movements, will have to be purchased at any cost.

3. The books in the library will be divided into the following classes:—
(a) Historical, (b) Geographical, (c) Literature, (d) Biography, (e) Military, (f) Religious, (g) Newspapers, (h) Magazines, English, (i) Magazines, Bengali, (j) Maps of countries and district towns, (k) Postal and Railway guides, (l) Statistical accounts.

4. These books will be issued according to stages, as has been stated in the "Stage Series."

5. The books must be issued through proper channel, so that the existence and locality of the library may not be known to any individual subordinate members.

6. The books will be issued once a week—on Saturdays only—and should be returned on the next Saturday.

7. Any member failing to return the books on the appointed day will not be allowed books for the next week. But he will have to find out a certain book from *ex-officio* members and read that thoroughly for the sake of penalty.

8. Loss of or damage to the library books will subject the reader to the replacement of the same with a new copy at his own cost.

9. None should issue or receive books save and except the librarian and his assistant.

10. The librarian should induce neutral persons or members to buy good books from their own pocket and try to bring those in the possession of the library.

FIRST STAGE.

LITERATURE.

*General books of primary stage.**Geography.*

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|--|--|
| 1. Nigrojatir Karmabir. (The negro hero.) | 1. Geography of Bengal. |
| 2. Bharater Bartaman Abastha. (Present condition of India.) | 2. Communications— |
| 3. Raja o Praja. (King and Subject.) | Railways. |
| 4. Desher Katha. (Tales of our land.) | Steamer routes. |
| 5. Mebar Pathan. (Fall of Mewar.) | District Board roads and those of Municipalities and Local Boards. |
| 6. Bhagya Chakra. (The Wheel of Fortune.) | |
| 7. Chinta Tarangini. (Waves of thought.) | 3. Thorough knowledge of the centre town. |
| 8. Durgadas. | |
| 9. Hitopadesh. | 4. Exit—Various ways. |
| 10. Nanda Kumar. (Nuncomar.) | |
| 11. Ganga Gobinda Singh. (Name of an oppressive Dewan of Warren Hastings.) | (Entrance.) |
| 12. Mir Kasim. (Name the last Nawab Nizam of Bengal.) | |
| 13. Guru Gobinda. (Name of Sikh guru.) | |
| 14. Sikh Jatir Itihash. (History of the Sikhs.) | |
| 15. Maharastra Jiban Prabhat. (Life in Maharashtra, dawn.) | 5. |
| 16. Maharastra Jiban Sandhya. (Life in Maharashtra, sunset.) | |
| 17. Rush Darpahari Sikh. (The Sikh who subdued the Russian.) | 6. |
| 18. Pratapaditya. (Name of a king of Jessore in Bengal, famous for his resistance to Aurangzeb.) | |
| 19. Jhansir Rani. (The Rani of Jhansi.) | 7. |
| 20. Bharatbarsher Itihash. (History of India.) | |
| 21. Charitra Puja. (Character- worship.) | 8. |
| 22. | |
| 23. | |
| 24. | (Examinations.) |
| 25. | |

(Essays.)

*Newspapers.**Religious.*

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|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Gita. | 1. "Bangali" (compulsory). |
| 2. Patrabali. (Letters.) | 2. "Dainik Basumati." |
| 3. Karmajog. (Yoga of action.) | 3. "Prabashi." |
| 4. Bhaktijog. (Yoga of devotion.) | 4. "Grihastha." |
| 5. Swami Shishya Sangbad. (Con-
versation of teacher and disciple.) | 5. "Upashana." |
| 6. Bibek Bani. (The voice of con-
science.) | 6. "Prabartak." |
| 7. | (“ Basumati,” “ Bangabashi,” “ Hita- |
| 8. | badi ”—if time permits.) |
| (Essays.) | 7. “ Bharatbarsha.” |

SECOND STAGE.

LITERATURE, GENERAL.

*In addition to the books prescribed for
the Primary Stage Course.*

Religious.

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|---|--|--|
| 1. Ananda Math. | } Novels by
Bankim
Chandra
Chatterji. | 1. Gita. |
| 2. Debi Chaudhurani. | | 2. Anusilan. (Culture.) |
| 3. Sitaram. | | 3. Krishna Charitra. (Character of Krishna.) |
| 4. Matsini o Nabya Itali. (Mazzini and New Italy.) | | 4. Jiban Pariksha. (Test of life.) |
| 5. Swadhinatar Itihash. (History of Independence.) | | 5. Kathamrita. (Words of nectar.) |
| 6. Sipahi Juddher Itihash. (History of the Sepoys' War.) | | 6. Lila Prashanga. (Essays on divine manifestations.) |
| 7. Pharashi Biplab. (French Revolution.) | | 7. Naibedya. |
| | | 8. Shankar Granthabali. (The books of Shankar—a renowned philosopher.) |
| | | 9. |
| 8. William Wallacer Jibani. (Life of William Wallace.) | | 10. |
| 9. Kavur o Garibaldi. (Cavour and Garibaldi.) | | 11. |
| 10. Napaleoner Jibani. (Napoleon's life.) | | 12. |
| 11. Bartaman Mahajuddher Itihash. (History of the present great war.) | | 13. |
| 12. | | 15. |

Geography.

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|---------------|---|
| 14. (Essays.) | 1. Railway routes with junction stations, fares and distances of places in touch.
(Plan sketch.) |
| | 2. A detailed Geography of Bengal and outlines of India.
(Examinations.) |

Newspapers.

1. "Bengalee."
 2. "Amrita Bazar."
 3. Discussions about the news and editorial columns
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THIRD STAGE.

LITERATURE, GENERAL.

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|--|--|
| 1. Duties of man. | <i>Religious.</i> |
| 2. Life of Mazzini. | |
| 3. Trial and speeches of B. G. Tilak. | 1. Life of Swamiji. |
| 4. Life and speeches of B. C. Pal. | 2. Systems of Hindu Spiritualism. |
| 5. Lajpat Ray. | 3. Gita Rahashya. (Mysteries of the Gita.) |
| 6. Ajit Singh. | 4. Dharma. (Religion.) |
| 7. Dadabhai Naoroji. | <i>Essays.</i> |
| 8. Suniti Sen. | |
| 9. History of Belgian Republic. | <i>Geography.</i> |
| 10. „ „ Dutch „ | |
| 11. „ „ Indian Unrest. | 1. A detailed Geography of the whole of India. |
| 12. Indian Nation Builders. | |
| 13. Modern Germany. | 2. Railway and Steamer Routes, all stations, fare and time-tables, distance. |
| 14. Germany and the next war. | 3. Statistical accounts. |
| 15. The new Bernhardt. | (Examinations.) |
| 16. History of the Swiss Republic. | <i>Newspapers.</i> |
| 17. „ „ of the Chinese „ | 1. "Bengalee." |
| 18. „ „ of the French „ | 2. "Amrita Bazar." |
| 19. History of the Marathas and their confederacy. | 3. "Statesman." |
| 20. Prince Bismarck. | 4. "Englishman." |
| 21. Prince of Destiny. | 5. "Empire." |
| 22. History of the Sikhs. | 6. English magazines. |
| 23. Causes of the failure of the Great Indian Nations in politics. | 7. History of the trials of conspiracy cases. |

PRELIMINARY STAGE.

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|--|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 1. Arjun. | } (Heroes of the "Maha-
bharata.") | <i>Religious books.</i> | |
| 2. Bhishma. | | 1. Padya Gita (Bangla). (The Gita in
poetry, Bengali.) | |
| 3. Rajputbahini. (Rajput armies.) | | 2. Patrabali. | |
| 4. Bidyasagar. (Name of a famous
writer and reformer.) | | 3. Bhaktijog. | |
| 5. Amader Jatiya Bhasha. (Our
national tongue.) | | 4. Mahabharat. | |
| 6. Aitihashik Path. (History readings.) | | 5. Ramayan. | |
| 7. Sikher Balidan. (Valour of the
Sikhs.) | | 6. Chhatrajiban Raghunaddan. (Student
days of Raghunandan.) | |
| 8. Pratap Singh. (Name of a Sikh
leader famous for resistance to
Akbar.) | | 7. Brahmacharya Shiksha. (Study of
asceticism.) | |
| 9. Jaliat Clive. (Clive the Forger.) | | | (Essays.) |
| 10. Gokhale. | | | |
| 11. Charit Katha. (Tales of character.) | | | <i>Geography.</i> |
| 12. Jibani Sangraha. (Lives) | | | |
| | (Essays.) | 1. Bhugol Parichay. (Knowledge of the
globe.) | |
| | | 2. Principal railways of North Bengal. | |
| | | 3. Town, principal roads, streets, several
divisions of the town. | |
| | | 4. Public places of importance. | |
| | | 5. Places of worship. | |
| | | 6. Town boundary. | |
| | | | (Examination.) |

Newspapers.

1. "Bangali" (compulsory).
2. "Dainik Bashumati."
3. "Sandesh."

CULTURE CHART.

INTELLECTUAL.

1. Preparation of mind.
2. Study of books.
3. Newspapers.
4. Experiences acquired from our daily life.
5. Individual coaching.
6. Estimation of Philanthropic works.
7.
8.
9.
10.

(A) Formation of character.

1. Struggle with the passions and senses.
2. Gravity and seriousness.
3. Sense of responsibility.
4. Avoidance of certain vicious habits.
5. To raise oneself higher from one's usual level.
6. Acquire good qualities which crown our character.

(B) Public Discipline.

1. Restrictions with regard to circle association.
2. Implicit obedience and prompt execution of orders in a punctual moment.
3. Secrecy.
4. Checking of inquisitive spirit when necessary.
5. Conducting of business by means of signs and signals.
6. Avoidance of unnecessary assembly in a frequently haunted place.
7. Espionage.
8. Falsehood.

MILITARY.

1. General health.
2. Physical exercise.
3. Use of arms.
4. Explosives.
5. Machine repair works.
6. Distance measurement.
7. Private drill.
8. Mock fight in a retired place.

INTELLECTUAL.

Take up a recruit and make what course he should undergo at the very outset.

1. Determine his—
 - (a) aims and ideals after having discussed India past, India present and what should India be in near future.
 - (b) Let him understand his position in relation to his environments, the duty and responsibility he owes to himself, to his family and to his country.
 - (c) Let him take up every work according to his capacity and natural inclination.
 - (d) His aims and ideals fixed, let him understand that he cannot go on alone with his works, he requires help from others—hence the necessity of his being an active member of an organised body.
2. To further and ensure—
 - (a) His aims and process of his works. Let him study books, historical, philosophical, religious, revolutionary histories of different countries.
 - (b) These books should be selected according to the gravity and importance of the subject matter therein.
3. Let him study newspapers—
 - (a) both English and Bengali, weekly and monthly magazines, articles, manifests, and pamphlets. Let him
 - (b) comment upon them where necessary.
4. Study of daily life—
 - (a) Minute study of the incidents happening in our daily life. Rectify your mistakes and acquire experience from every trifle.
5. Individual coaching—
 - (a) Have hot discussion with the new recruit.
 - (b) Overwhelm him with arguments, so that he fails to get out of the meshes of your reasoning.
 - (c) Take notice of his mistakes and bad habits if they are misguided.
 - (d) A recruit must do some sort of work whether he joins your inner organisation or not. Everybody must have something to do.
 - (e) When discussion fails, try to persuade him by means of writing, persuasions.
6. Philanthropic works—
 - (a) Let him do public works of utility, so far practicable. Let him estimate their merits and demerits.
 - (b) Let them be convinced that these works constitute to self-knowledge and self-culture, public sympathy.
7. Religion—
 - (a) Should be the goal and moral scruples should be the guiding principles.
 - (b) Sometimes religious principles should be subordinate to politics.
 - (c) We must rise as a religious nation.
 - (d) Life is a mission. Duty is the highest law.

8. Each of us is bound to purify his own soul as a temple, free it from egotism, set before you with a religious sense of the importance of the study of the problem of his own life to search out what is the most striking, the most urgent need of the men by whom he is surrounded. Then to interrogate his own faculties and capacities and resolutely apply them to the satisfaction of that need.

Once you have determined your mission within your own soul, let nothing arrest your step. Fulfil it with all your strength. Fulfil it whether blessed by love or visited by hate, whether strengthened by associations with others or in the sad solitude that almost always surrounds the martyrs of thought.

GENERAL CULTURE.

A.—FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

1. In matters of recruiting, importance should be given to a man of character, but you should not disregard those who have been led astray by vicious company. Try to restrain passions and desires to enjoy pleasures which tell upon own health—and corrupts our mind (Opera, novel-reading, liquor and intoxication).
2. Mental gravity and seriousness by shaking off fickleness and bashfulness.
3. The undertakings should be emphasised with a sense of strict responsibility which enhances successful operation.
4. Vicious habits, such as overwit, fault-finding, hypocrisy, and want of sincerity and simplicity in dealing with the co-members of the same organisation.
5. Straightforwardness, impartiality, a high sense of dignity of character and person (in times when necessary).

6. Mental love, respect, sincerity, simplicity and honesty, a common feeling of mental attachment. Have one ideal, one thought, one hope and one ideal to reverence. Unflagging industry and constancy in sacrifice.
7. The yearning for unity, moral and political founded upon some great organic authoritative idea, the love of country, the worship of India, the sublime vision of the destiny in store for her, leading the Indians in holiness and truth.

B.—PUBLIC DISCIPLINE.

1. Rules and restrictions should be strictly observed in the circle associations; these rules should be laid down by the head of the organisation for various associations (find the Constitutions Chart).
2. Each member should implicitly obey his immediate superior. He should be punctual and prompt in executing the orders of the head. His personal dejections should be explained away before the head.
3. *Secrecy*.—This should be strictly observed at any cost. The aims and ideals of the organisation should be public, but the method of the work perforce secret.
4. *Checking of inquisitive spirit*.—A member should try to learn everything, but in certain cases he should not want explanation or motive of the orders passed upon him. Nor should he know or try to know what passes between the members (by overhearing them or by his unexpected presence).
5. The work of the organised body should be free from "humbug." All business so far practicable should be conducted by means of signs and signals, movements of body, paper signs and crude language.
6. Members should not unnecessarily meet in a frequently haunted place unless they are required by the head to do so. Assemblage and free-talking should so far as practicable be avoided.
7. *Espionage, (a) within (b).*—(a) Inspector who will remain in charge of the Intelligence Department should enquire whether every branch and sub-branch working well. He will have to report about the conducts of business in those branches and sub-centres. A Sub-Inspector in each of the sub-centres should mark the particular movements of the members.
(b) A second Inspector should keep a vigilant eye upon the various means of eluding the police.
8. The members should be taught how to give statements before the Magistrate or a police officer. He should be taught all sorts of hypocrisy, treachery, dissimulation, falsehood, cunning and witty saying, ready wit, eluding, betraying, disguising in absconding, equivocation, deceiving and cheating (within limited bounds).

DEPARTMENT C.—MILITARY.

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF MILITARY DEPT. SECTION D.

1. At the head of this department there should be a member of the "S.C." who is subordinate to the leader.
2. He should be held entirely responsible for this department and will have to furnish explanation in cases of negligence.
3. He should furnish with reports about the military training of the recruits.
4. He will have to supply materials for this department and should establish a fortified or safe custody for the same.
5. In cases of loss or damage of any article he will have to replace the same at his own cost.
6. In dealing with foreign organisation regarding this department he should consult the full council of the "S.C."
7. The store or custody house must not be known to anybody else save and except the assistant of the departmental head.
8. This assistant must not be absent in the absence of the head.
9. Military discipline will have to be strictly observed.
(For military training, *vide* Culture Chart.)

MILITARY.

1. *General health*.—(a) The inspector should take particular care about the health of the recruited member. If their health declines day by day he should anyhow find out the cause thereof.
2. Physical exercise should be taken by every member—under compulsion—daily—
 - (a) Running with and without loads.
 - (b) Rowing
 - (c) Walking
 - (d) Cycling.
 - (e) Motor driving.
 - (f) Boxing.
 - (g) Swimming.
 - (h) Riding

- (i) High jump, long jump.
- (j) Patient endurance of all sorts of hardships.
- (k) Wrestling. Bow and arrow.

according to prescribed text-books and rules.

3. Aiming, handling, cleaning,	air guns. pistols, Revolvers.	Rifles, dagger, practice,
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according to prescribed text-book and rules.

4. *Explosive*.—Every member should have scanty knowledge of explosive substances.

5. He should know perfectly well how to repair machines.

- 6. (a) Distance measurement.
- (b) Scouting.
- (c) Private drill.
- (d) Mock fight in a retired place.
- (e) Hunting excursions.

7. Removing an enemy and successful retreat if possible.

8. No weakness or effeminacy should be tolerated in this department.

9. Members should be bold and daring, prompt and quick.

10. Knowledge of routes and railways.

11. Particular members should be kept reserve for this department.

They should not mix freely with the subordinate members or show any public spirit by revealing himself in public occasions.

Military.—Anybody expert in arms, of commanding voice and of strong and stout personality should be placed in charge of this department. He should have a fair knowledge of various kinds of rifles, revolvers and pistols, bombs and dynamites and other highly explosive substances. He should know the various methods of preparing explosives and smuggling arms. He should teach his subordinates to handle and cleanse these instruments. He should practise them aiming. He should know fully the modern system of military drill—both German and foreign drills. Strict discipline will be enforced in drilling and organising his subordinates into a sacred military band like that of the Thebans in Boetia. This sacred band will be organised as follows:—Over 4 men a Habilder; over 4 H, a Subadar; over 4 S, a Major; over 4 M, a Lieutenant; over 4 L, a Colonel; over 4 C, a Captain and over 4 Ca, a Commander-in-Chief who will be placed in charge of the military dept. Each individual of the sacred band should endure all sorts of hardships and should be taught to surmount any sort of danger and disasters through sheer fortitude and calm and serene ready wit. The individuals in time of an action should strictly obey the commander. Anybody breaking the rules of military discipline will be dealt with stringent measures. To carry out his military scheme he will have to depend to some extent upon the intelligent department and the engineering dept. connected with it. The Military head should see how far the medical dept. is doing his duty properly and sincerely. The efficiency and inefficiency of the medical dept. will affect the consequent interest of the military dept. For plans of forts, garrisons, magazines and other fortified places the Military chief should ask of the intelligent dept. The military man (head) should take notice where and when how much quantity of rations can be had. He should practice his subordinates, signalling (morse, or semaphore), scouting, cycling, riding.

3. *Riding, rowing, jumping, measuring distances by guessing*.—The military head should show such efficiency as the whole volunteer regiment may be solicited by the general public for public organised ceremonial works and festivities.

4. *Engineering*.—The most scientific man and man of artistic knowledge should be placed in charge of this department. The man placed in charge should be expert in handling and working with various sorts of instruments. He will have some knowledge of electrical battery and magnets. He will have to break down bridges—both iron and wooden—to cut telegraphic wires, obstruct river passages, to derail trains and the various methods of doing so. He should purchase all sorts of instruments, including telescopes, lights and flags for signalling.

5. *Medical*.—The man placed in charge of this department should have the knowledge of a compounder, also should have some practical knowledge of surgical works. He should keep close intimacy with local Physicians and nursing association. To learn medical works he should find out proper places both safe and advantageous. He should be acquainted with various sorts of acids.

6. *Finance*.—The honest and the man of most sacrificing spirit should be placed in charge of finance. A strict account should be kept in cipher list. The accounts are subject chief's examination and inspection from time to time.

INSPECTOR.

The duties and responsibilities of the inspector should be as follows:—

- 1. The inspector should be a man of shrewdness and cunning and expert in screwing out what is contained in the mind of persons.
- 2. He should be calm and quiet and free from public association.

3. He should have sufficient presence of mind and calculation.
4. The inspector should have thorough knowledge of the district towns outside the centre town.
5. He should be acquainted with the heads of sub-centres and their assistants.
6. His business will be to go on errands and to receive foreign embassies through certain signals or signs.
7. When present at the centre town he will have to supervise the works of the subordinate members in the respective jurisdictions.
8. He should watch everybody like an indifferent onlooker.
9. The inspector shall have thorough knowledge of the routes and places with which he will have to keep communication.
10. He must not live a public life.
11. In order to start a new sub-centre he will have to survey the place in all respects and report it to the head.
12. The heads of sub-centres will be directly responsible to the inspector and indirectly to the head.
13. The particular signal with which he will approach the sub-centres should not be made known to any other member at both the organisations. The inspector should neither proceed on errands or receive embassies without that particular sign or signal.

A	B	C	d	e
f	G	h	i	j
k	l	m	n	o
P	Q	R	S	T
u	v	w	x	y
z				

THE SCHEME FOR LOCAL ORGANISATION.

The scheme is subject to modification and alteration in consideration of time and space, but the ultimate principals must not be ignored.

DEPARTMENTS.—(1) Special, (2) Intelligence, (3) Military, (4) Finance, (5) Medical.

(1) *Special*.—At the head of the department there should be placed leading and guiding spirit of the whole organisation. In fact the fittest man should take charge of this department; the success and failure of this department depend upon the chief and hence the gravity and responsibility of his work.

The chief will have to supervise the works of the whole organisation consisting of several departments mentioned above, with special interests and responsibility. To examine the reports (whether weekly, monthly or quarterly) of all the departments the chief should have a fair knowledge of the works to be done by each department: e.g., he should be acquainted with the public of the locality in which he establishes his centre; he should have a fair knowledge of the whole district and should take care of every minute detail of the town concerned. He should be honest and an expert accountant in handling the finance of organisation. He should know the handling of arms, preparation of ammunition and explosives, in fact anything and everything concerning the military department. He should also have a little knowledge of the medical science and its practical application in some cases. For information he will have to depend upon the reports of the member placed in charge of Intelligence department. He should also have a psychological study of the different temperament of the general public. In fact he will have to exert such influence over the public that the latter's mind may be focussed to him wherever he will proceed to do any philanthropic works. This requires strong personal character.

In choosing men for the respective department he should have the capacity of placing the right man in the proper place. The chief should organise local associations both religious and social. Through these organisations or rather associations he will have to recruit members by his subordinates. About the secret or revolutionary organisation or any political matter of importance, he should not discuss anything with the new recruit so far as it is practicable and adequate. The Chief should alone discuss foreign matters and receive messengers and deputies sent by other revolutionary organisation outside his own centre town. The Chief is liable to the calling of explanation by the higher authority if there be any, and he and he alone will be held responsible for anything good or bad, right or wrong done by any member of the organisation. In fact the whole responsibility, the success and reverses of the whole organisation rests with him.

(2) *Intelligence*.—The fittest man, intelligent, hardy, honest and the most responsible man should be placed in charge of this department. The working up of the whole organisation will depend upon the reports submitted by him. He will be held responsible for any miscalculation or wrong reports submitted by him. The sphere of his work must for the first time be confined to the sadar town. Then he should expand his sphere up to the whole district. He should have a fair acquaintance with the locality in which the centre has been established. About the town he should be frequently acquainted with the principal roads, streets, lanes, bye-lanes, rivers and canals and bridges over them, tanks, wells, schools and colleges and the number of the students therein, railway routes, stations, post office, police-station, river jetty or port harbour, Police clubs, churches—when and how many persons attend the church services, residence clubs, Duckbungalow, circuit houses, Police quarter and army barracks—number of the regiments and the number of the soldiers thereof. Number of Rifles, Pistols, Revolvers and quantity of ammunitions stored up, Position of the magazine.

He should prepare plans of forts, magazine, Police-station, army barracks and maps showing—District, Subdivision, Thanas, outposts, rivers, roads (metalled or non-metalled) large villages, inspection bungalows, Duckbungalows, canals, Railways, strength and depth of the river; general feature of the district, areas of the town and Thanas, general description of rivers, pond, canals, description of district town subdivision and main villages with population Hindu and Mahomedan males and females. Description of Thanas, number and name, especially if there are other low classes, Hindu peoples in each subdivision with population male and female, Hindu and other castes. Means of communication. Distance of railway station from any junction place (that place will always remain common Polymetrical table of distances (as in B volume). (Please write the XXX table of B volume). Names of Telegraph and Post Offices, dispensaries and jails with accommodation and number of patients and prisoners thereof. Enquire if there be any political prisoners. Description of Thanas, number of officers chaukidars Duffadars and the station of volunteers with number of them. Places where provision can be had and the quantity. Bazzars and hats (markets) and the dates on which the hats assemble. Description of Duckbungalows and Dharmashalas and public places for residence. Residing places of Rajas and zamindars, with their probable income and their tendency. Number of motors if they have any and the number of horses. Near districts, the different ways for communication and relation with provinces. The tendency of general public—whether they are sympathetic, the number of arms they possess and the places where they keep it. Number of influential persons and their tendency. The number of notorious persons and intimacy with them. Existence of any other Secret Society and the knowledge thereof. Number and residence of the executive officers—native and European. Number of C.I.D. officers, spies, their residence and movements, and other information that will be required by the chief from time to time.

DEPARTMENT D.—INTELLIGENCE.

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT. SECT E.

1. This dept. is divided for the sake of convenience, into two Sections—(a) internal, (b) external.

The internal one is intended for the purpose of purifying the league from within by detecting the errors and deficiencies of the members of the league.

The external one is necessary for competitive progress & efficiency in the dept. of surveillance & spying.

2. There will be a vigilance committee consisting of 2 or 3 members in this dept. who will have to supply all necessary secret informations to the head of this dept.

3. This committee in no case should reveal the connection with the league to anybody & should refrain from frequent association with other members of the league.

4. The members of this committee should come with their reports to the dept. head at nightfall in an appointed place or at any place or time not subject to the notice of the men of other parties.

5. Their duty they will not disclose to even his intimate member of the same league.

6. They should be keen-sighted & expert in all sorts of disguises.

7. Hypocrisy & treachery will form their essential external qualities & they should be versed in forgery, chikinary & perjury.

8. They should report everything simultaneously. If any injury is done to the league on account of their miscalculation or wrong & inaccurate information they are subject to penalty so as to redeem the injury.

9. They will have certain signals & turns of speech which they will use among themselves.

10. The internal member should report everything occurring inside the organisation regarding the movements and works of the members.

11. The external member should watch carefully & patiently what is going on outside the organisation.

12. The external member should always bear it in mind that whatever he will do endanger his life and safety. His work should be like that of a Govt. spy.

13. The secrets of other parties found out by the external member should not be divulged to anybody save & except the departmental head. He should take sufficient care not to hamper the interests of other parties. He should respect the integrity of other parties.

14. This committee should be master of verbal turns of speech & cross questioning & cross examinations so that they may skilfully extract out what there is in the mind of others.

15. The remaining members of this dept. should form themselves into an Intelligence Committee.

16. The duty of this I.C. should be to supply all necessary information as stated in the Intelligence chart.

17. Their reports should be thorough, accurate and to the point.

18. For the purpose of convenience they will have statistical reports & Gazettes & other necessary books and maps or routes.

DEPARTMENT F.—FINANCE.

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE FINANCE DEPT. SECT. G.

1. The treasurer of the league will be a member of the S.C. and he will have an assistant through whom the treasurer is entitled to transact all financial business.

2. The treasurer will have to sanction money by the head and every account or item by item should be checked by the head.

3. All proceeds should first come to the treasury & thence to be distributed elsewhere.

4. Subtreasuries of the sub centres should furnish monthly or if possible fortnightly accounts of their receipts & expenditure to the head treasurer in the centre town.

5. If any amount be spent on some necessary account the same will have to be refunded by the person who had spent them.

6. There will be surprise examination of the accounts for which the treasurer must keep himself ready.

7. If any member borrows any amount from the treasury of the league he will have to repay it with certain amount of interest in a fixed time. In default he will have to pay the compound interest.

8. No big amount should be stored up in one & same place.

9. The treasurer should control the sources of income, & heads of expenditure.

10. Money collection is prohibited by violent methods.

11. The chief source of income will be public subscription & subscription of the members of the league.

12. On necessary & responsible grounds & in cases of emergency the treasurer should forsake parsimonious habits & is authorised to spend the responsible sums.

13. Money can be lent to an ex-officio member on the responsibility of the treasurer.

14. A pretty big amount should be kept as reserve fund & this fund should not be touched except in cases of extreme emergency.

15. The treasurers may borrow money on behalf of the league from the public provided that he will have to stand as security. In the case of the league's inability to pay the treasurer will have to clear off the debt from his own pocket.

APPENDIX B 6 (xv).

ESTABLISHMENT.*

Found at the house of an absconder (now a State prisoner) arrested in Bihar and Orissa by the local police on information that he was threatening a local gentleman with assassination. Leaflets from "The Director-General, Indian Revolution" with much other revolutionary literature were found at the house. 1917.

When it is necessary to have an "Establishment" at some new place, the first duty should be to select a man. If this man is an absconder it is necessary then to give him a Bihari college or school student. This student should then be sent to the town and an entire house should be hired. When hiring the house it should be seen that it may not be near the lodging of any police officer and that no police officer's house is in the mahalla (quarter of the town) itself. The position of the house should be very good so that it cannot be surrounded and, if surrounded, there is easy means of escape. The owner of the house selected for hire should not be a man of much education nor should the people of the locality selected be educated. If there be a college or many schools in that town, or the town be a big one, it is advisable that he should live with the Bihari student and should live by strictly legal means. If it is a small town without a college, it is well for him to be admitted to a school and there comport himself so that he may not attract notice. He should live in a gentlemanly style and should behave himself in such a manner that the owner of the house and the neighbours will be pleased with his conduct. First of all he should be acquainted with the circumstances of the town and all the streets and ghats of the town. When settled in that house the organiser should buy all necessary articles bedding, cooking utensils etc. If there is no arrangement for water within the house it is better not to keep a servant, but to engage a Bihari servant like our *bura* (old man) to draw water from the neighbouring hydrant or tank. As far as possible the house should be kept safe. The washerman and the members of the organisation should not be shown the house. Information regarding the town should as far as possible be collected previously from the Divisional Organiser or the Provincial Organiser, as for instance, if there has been any political trouble there; if there be any Society, Hindu or Musalman; if there be any political prisoner or interned person and, if so, what character they bear. If it is not possible to live by strictly legal means and it is necessary to live in a bogus house, in that case he should first of all be acquainted with the character of the town, for example, if the Bihari or Bengali students mix together and if there is any public meeting on religion and whether there is any party like that of Thakur Dayananda (founder of the Arya Samaj) or if it is possible to continue the work of the Ram Krishna Mission there. The nature of the public and students should also be watched. After fully considering all these points the boys and house members should be selected and then converted. If there be any exercise (*sic*) party of the boys he should go there or into the play-ground or the public library, i.e., he should frequent places where many good people congregate and try to select boys and the public and collect information from them and then convert them. If it is not possible to live by strictly legal means it is not advisable to mix with the public as the consequences may be injurious; as, for example, there may be a risk of disclosure within a short time. If the boy selected to live with the absconder be a little untrained he should first of all be fully trained, so that he may readily sacrifice his life in the cause of the country or can himself organise. Through that boy it should be possible to select the school or college boys and organise among them, and, as far as possible bring information from the town and the public. After converting the boys in this way they should be well organised. It should be the duty of every organiser to reform the character of the boys with whom he lives and be himself a fully reformed character. It should be borne in mind by every organiser that it does not necessarily follow that because he is an organiser he is therefore a perfect character. He should strive after being such an ideal character that everyone feels compelled to follow and obey him. This standard can only be obtained by strength of character and courage of mind and by nothing else. In this manner the organisation should be spread through the boys, and through them there should be organisation throughout the division down to the village. The following persons should be selected for the organisation:—

- (1) Postal officers.
- (2) Railway officers.
- (3) Jail officers.
- (4) Treasury officers.
- (5) Soldiers, viz., havildars, naiks and others.
- (6) Doctors.
- (7) Pleaders.
- (8) Professors or masters.

Out of the above it is specially necessary to have in the organisation jail officers, pleaders, professors and masters, soldiers, recruits and doctors, as well as students.

The organisation should be spread in the houses of merchants and wealthy people

APPENDIX B 6 (xvi).

(ORGANISATION SCHEME.

Found in the house of Harihar Mukharji, 1918.

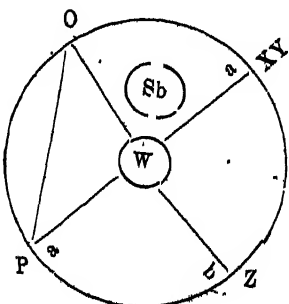
There are several main divisions of our working area under the head centre. The books must be distributed from the head centre to all the centres. The men in charge of these centres will distribute the books to the organisers of the districts. The district organiser should be held responsible for the training of the students and for submitting an account of their progress under following headings:—

	Primary.	Secondary.	Senior.
Sacrificing ...			
Sympathising ...			

The D.O. should be given the privilege of choosing some books particularly suited to the requirements of his district. The even distribution of the books required by the S.D.O. who will work in accordance with the direction of D.O. in addition to his own way, or both being agreed upon, the D.O. shall see that directions are carried.

Less important and less valuable books and books which are required for the daily use must be bought in all districts. Books of greater importance and more value must be bought at the centres of divisions and should be distributed in districts. Books of most importance and most value should be bought at the head centre and should be distributed to the divisional centres. Three sets of such books may serve the purpose. Every D.V.O. should read the books first and then he will distribute them to the teachers (D.O.), and the teachers after reading these will distribute them to the students deserving to read them. District organisers should collect a monthly magazine from every subdivision of the district. Every boy should write article basing on the subject-matter or essence of the book he goes through. Each article will contain the subject-matter of one book only. The magazines should be corrected by the district organiser. He will correct the articles and send the best of the lot to the centre and the rest to the respective subdivisions, so that the articles are sent back to the writers with necessary instructions for their revision. The leading man of the divisional centre is to make a selection from the papers of the districts and send the best articles to the head centre and the others will be sent to the districts for their corrections. The examining body will judge whether the boys have read the books or not by reading these magazines and comparing them with progress report, and take necessary steps. Another thing is that it is impossible to send all books of every series to all the centres at a time. Therefore the man in charge of sending books of the head centre should divide the books into several groups and send one group to each centre. When all the members of the sub-centre have finished the books, the man in charge of the sub-centre will distribute the books in several groups to the several districts he is in connection. The members of the districts finishing the books will return them to their centres and the centre man will redirect them to the head centre. When the man of the head centre has got the books of the first instalment in his hand he will send another instalment. Thus the books may be read by all the members of all the districts and thereby enlighten themselves.

S.D.O. teachers of the S.D. should divide the students into several groups according to their merits in each and will give stress upon them for their special aptitudes and thus make them fit for departmental work. He (D.O.) will represent them to the sub-centre man and the sub-centre man will represent them to the centre if he think it proper.



At least four sacrificing legal men from every sub-centre should be kept at the head centre so that these boys may travel to the sub-centres as news bearers without

creating the least agitation in both the places, that is to say, at the centre and the sub-centre. But another thing should always be borne in mind by both the centre men that they also should try their best to keep these bearers safe. In like manner at least four boys of legal means must live at the subcentre (divisional centre) from each district so that these boys may travel without making any agitation at both the centres. These messengers should be taught in such manner that they can mix with people of any community. Strict observation should be kept for their moral training. They should not be allowed to mix with other messengers, in time of journey. The less number of students they know the better for the work. In like manner teachers of sub-centres and districts should keep reserved messengers to send news to their connecting places.

Men in charge should always find out safer routes to communicate, but they will see not to destroy the routes which will require afterwards to reach the goal of our mission. Postal communication can be kept cautiously if letters written in plain language. Every one should always try to post letters in big post offices so that the place whence the letter has been sent may not be easily detected. Addressees should be selected as such that may expect letters from the places whence they come. In order to carry out messages every sub-centre must provide with a *reliable man* who must not be exaggerating, not seriously wanting and not known to many.

In Calcutta the man in charge shall be under the necessity to form the following departments for meeting with the requirements outside the town of Calcutta.

- (1) The Literary department.—For supplying books and other such likeness as maps, journals, gazettes, instruments relating to survey and medicine, etc.
- (2) Clothing department.—For supplying clothes.
- (3) Technical department.
- (4) Scientific department.—For chemicals.
- (5) Commercial department.—For order supplying.

In the following institutions members should be admitted at least six in number in each institution :—

- (1) Bengal National Technical Institution.
- (2) Bengal Art Studio. (For photograph).
- (3) Medical School or College, as students and compounders.
- (4) Sewing institutions, *i.e.*, tailoring.
- (5) Technological Institution, Sibpur (Mining and Dyeing).
- (6) Engineering College.
- (7) Srirampur Weaving Institution.
- (8) Veterinary College.
- (9) Polytechnical Institution.
- (10) Signalling Institution (Sealdah or Howrah).
- (11) Driving.

Business can be started there with small capital as—

- (1) Sylhet lime.
- (2) Tin mistries, *i.e.*, making lanterns, jugs, *badna*, etc.
- (3) Small smithy, *i.e.*, making nails, screws, hammers, chisels, etc.
- (4) Potato business in the suburbs.

The man in charge should try to buy for three cycle-repairing shops to be started at some other place, the following, each in number :—

- (1) Lathe machine.
- (2) Drilling machine.
- (3) Screw-cutting machine.
- (4) Plane machine.

Conveyance at Calcutta should be well managed so that the man in charge should follow the directions which will be given soon. Seats should be settled in strategical points in consultation with the centre. The town proper should be divided into several parts. Each part should be taken as a separate district. You shall post competent men in each district with competent assistants.

The best boys who will this year get admitted in the town and also those that are living there previously may be selected for the purpose. Let me first divide the town into several principalities :—

- (1) Talla, *i.e.*, north of the Canal, Paikpara and Ghughudanga. Include in it Belgachia also.
- (2) The block bounded by the Beadon Street on the South, Cornwallis on the west, Chitpur Road on the east and Bagbazar on the north.
- (3) The block bounded by Cornwallis on the east, Beadon Street on the south, Circular Canal on the west and on the north.
- (4) The block bounded by Beadon Square on the north, Cornwallis and College Streets on the west, Chitpur on the east and Bowbazar Street on the south.

- (5) The block bounded by the Beadon Street on the north, Cornwallis and College Street on the east, Circular Road on the west and Bowbazar on the south.
- (6) The block between Chitpur Road and the Ganges and between Baghbazar Street and Nimtolla Street.
- (7) The block between Chitpur Road and the Ganges and Nimtolla Street and High Court.
6th and 7th you can unite one if you think fit.
- (8) The block bounded by Circular Road on the west, Bowbazar on the north, Bentinck and Chowringhee on the east and Park Street on the south.
- (9) Entally, Kiria, Tiljola and Kamardanga.
- (10) Balliaghatta, Narcoldanga and Muraripukur. You can manage it with one organiser and two assistants.
- (11) Bhowanipur, Kidderpore and Matiaburuz.
- (12) Ballygunge, Tollygunge, Kalighat and Chetla.
- (13) Alipore, Behala and Barisa.
- (14) Howrah, Sibpur and Salkia.

The man in charge of Calcutta will have four assistants, with the help of whom he will be connected with separate districts:—

- (1) Each district shall have an organiser and an assistant.
- (2) There will be inspectors as many in number as the number of batches need, provided each inspector is at the head of not more than four groups.
- (3) Each batch will be of four men guided by the direction of inspector, who, in his turn, will be guided by the assistant.
- (4) Assistants shall meet with no ordinary member. He is authorised to meet with batch heads when recommended by the inspectors.
- (5) District authority will meet with men up to inspectors only when required.
- (6) There will be two batches of specially qualified members who will not attend any batch, and remain totally disconnected with the organisation.
- (7) One of the batches will be connected with the district authority and the other with the assistant.
- (8) They will be trained by those two authorities intellectually and physically as officers, civil or military as their test.
- (9) An intelligent department with a man of shrewd cunning, sound, approachable and approaching character as to its head will be formed with four or five officers (under 16) in it of keen intellect and unexaggerating habit.
- (10) This branch will be directed by the assistants (or district authority in case assistant not qualified for the function) being controlled by the district authority and the existence of it remain secret, unknown by the inspectors even.

The duties of the intelligent branch in each district—

- (1) To keep a census of boys up to age 25 in the district.
- (2) To know the minute topography of the district.
- (3) To know vacancies as to profession and letting of houses.
- (4) To keep information in detail of antagonist parties and their sympathisers.
- (5) To serve other confidentials to be described in the confidential plan sheet.

APPENDIX B 6 (xvii).

DURGAPUR THIRD QUARTERLY REPORT.*

Found in the box of Girindra Mohan Das at Dacca.

EXHIBIT IV (1)—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

(1) DURGAPUR.

THIS place is situated in the Chittagong district, in pargana Nazampur. It will not be an exaggeration to say that in this pargana this is the only place inhabited by gentlemen. It is here that I live. It is hoped that some work may be done here. However, it is not yet so very convenient. The "population" here is not very "dense." The Hindu and the Musalman population are almost in equal proportion. Total "population" ("rough estimate") is "3,000." Of these "nearly 2,000" are "Hindus," the rest "Muhammadans;" but the number of high class "Hindus" is very small. There is a great want of educated men: there are only two or three (*lit.* 2 and 1) such men in this village. Owing to the existence of the local "High English School," the situation (*lit.* it) is gradually improving. Last year the examination "results" of this "school" were highly satisfactory. One of the students stood "first" in "Mathematics" at the "University" Examination and is getting the "Kiritichand-Mackenzie prize." Another has secured a "scholarship" of Rs. 10. This is satisfactory for a new "school." The school has been in existence for the last four years only. Most of the teachers of the school are religious-minded. Consequently most of the boys have become religious-minded. The idea is not much in evidence among them, but the "Head Master" and Hemendra Mukhuti have it. Both of them are "favourable" to our work, particularly the latter. Two other teachers also know all about it. But they are not "favourably disposed" and are extremely "criticising" and inquisitive. On the other hand, their inquisitiveness does not yield any good fruit. Of the students of the school, a student of the "2nd class" has become our "initiated member." It is hoped that some two or three more will soon become so. I am having "outward" acquaintance with them. There is a very big "Library" in the school. It affords great advantage for study. There is an "evening club" for religious discussions among students. There is one "sitting" every "week" on Sundays. The "sitting" takes place in my room at the "Boarding." The *Gita*, the works of Vivekananda, or the *Kathamrita*† are read, and there is also *Kirtan*.‡ The "Head Master," myself and Mukhuti—these three are the chief promoters. This has afforded me a great opportunity of being acquainted and mixed with the religious-minded students. Not that "Hemendra Mukhuti" does not pay much attention to worldly affairs. He wants to go elsewhere if he can secure a good and well-paid "post." I am urging him to stop here. If he stays (here) it will be very convenient for my securing "higher class" students. But if he goes elsewhere, he will not do anything of much importance working by himself. He must have somebody at his back to make him work. I have told you of this before. I have not had any particular talk about these matters with the "Head Master;" but he has come to know me also in connection with Surendra Babu's affair. He occasionally gives hints about it. But I have not yet formed any intimate acquaintance with him, for he is very "aristocratic." The boy whom we have got is not so very serviceable (*lit.*, advantageous). Though he has "tenacity of purpose," yet he does not seem to possess much zeal. There is some insincerity in him. He is very reserved: does not wish to speak out his mind to anybody. Their "annual examination" being near, I am not getting much work from him.

In the month of August last, Swami Bholananda Giri, the well-known *sanyasi* of Hardwar, came to this place. He occupies a very high position in the *Kumbha mela*. We may know something of it by reading "*Kumbha mela* at Allahabad," by Manoranjan Guha Thakurta. He is the spiritual guide of Hem Babu, the Secretary. Our Mukhuti Mahasay also took *mantras* from him on this occasion. A little awakening of religious feeling is visible here owing to his visit. It cannot be said whether any great "internal change" has taken place within everyone. It seems to be an "occasional outburst of feelings." It will be well if it does not end in mere imitation. It is not an exaggeration to say that the men of this part are, in a way, asleep. It is necessary that "religious zeal" and "patriotism" should flourish side by side; but even the faintest gleam of the latter is not visible. Hemendra Babu speaks a little about these things in the "class," but very few students can catch or comprehend what he says. Most of them have got no "tenacity of purpose." (The above) is a rough account of the situation here.

There is a *hat* here which sits twice a week, on Monday and Friday. All the necessary things are purchased on these two days only. Fish and milk are scarce here.

* Translated from Bengali.

† Perhaps the book, *Ram Krishna Kathamrita*, or the nectar teaching of Ram Krishna is meant.

‡ Religious songs, specially those in praise of Hari or Krishna.

§ *Mantras* are mystical formulae which spiritual guides whisper into the ears of their disciples for their spiritual advancement.

The principal produce of this place is rice. Sugarcane also grows tolerably well. Jute is scarce. Although the hills are near (*lit.*, in front), yet wood and grass cannot be had: the chief reason of this is the "forest laws." There is a "forest office" at Mirserai, where tickets have to be purchased in order to bring things from the hills. The price of a ticket is 12 annas a year. That pass is applicable in the case of one individual only.* The railway station is at Mirserai. The distance between this place and Mirserai is 4 miles. There are a "police-station" and a "telegraph office" here. There are no old buildings close by. There are a temple of *Kali* and a temple of *Siva*.

The "Dacca-Chittagong Trunk Road" is 1 mile off from this place. On the one side, this road goes to Comilla, passing through Chittagong, and on the other reaches Dacca, passing through Feni. During the "Sepoy Mutiny" the sepoys went away by this very road, having plundered the Chittagong treasury.

OM.

(2) FENI.

This place is situated 20 miles north of Durgapur. Though it is a small "town," yet many educated men live here. There is a high class English school. The school building is very fine. There is no other such "building" in this town. The "courts" on the banks of the *dighi* also are not bad-looking. On the whole, the natural scenery is beautiful. All this may be seen in the map.

The situation here is unusually advantageous. The work is daily becoming more hopeful. There have been 5 men since my arrival. There was a far greater number before. "Monthly subscriptions" (are) regularly realized here. Not less than three rupees is realized every month. As yet I have not brought any money from them for "local expenditure." Once I went there and saw that nobody read the "newspaper." So I advised them to "subscribe" to the "bi-weekly *Amrita Bazar*" with their subscription. They have acted according to that advice. There is still some money in the "Fund." I have advised that "monthly subscriptions" from Amirabad and Belonia also should be sent to them. For the convenience of my work, I have made that place a "subdivisional centre." The number of members and the "list" of their names are hereto stitched. I cannot submit all, as I have not yet received the "detailed account" of everything. I will send them when I get them. It would have been very fine if a teacher could have been established here. I asked for a teacher, but you could not give one. Suren Babu also asked for (one) when he was here. It would have been very fine if you could have given one. The boys would have received much encouragement. At present the entire burden is on the "first boy" of the "first class" here. The principal thing to consider is what arrangement should be made after he has left this place, having passed his examination. There is no other such competent person. His name is Naliniranjan Mitra. It is this boy who wants to write: I have encouraged him. I hope to be able to "initiate" here two or three men more after the Puja holidays. It is not necessary to give any other particulars about this place. You will know of what takes place verbally. The members are all energetic. At present there has not been much obstacle from local men.

(3) AMIRABAD.

This place is situated on the river Feni. It is not very far from Durgapur. To get (there), by carriage, one has to leave the train at the Fazilpur station, from where the distance is 4 miles. We have got 4 men here. One of them, Satish Chandra Chakrabarti, is a student of the Chittagong Normal School. He is very zealous. He accompanied me to the shrine of the god Adinath. He being the eldest son of his father, the burden of the family has fallen on him. Another is the second pandit of the local "M. E. School." The third (*lit.* another) is a shopkeeper at Lemna (?). He is extremely addicted to worldly affairs; his name is Surendra Nath Guha. I have come to know that he is daily growing more and more negligent of his work. I wrote him a long letter full of advice, but have received no reply. I have not yet seen this place, solely on account of ill-health. The place is situated on the "border" of the Noakhali and Chittagong districts. There is no person fit to "guide." Consequently it would be well if a "second Master" could be appointed in the local "M. E. School." The "qualification" of being "Entrance plucked" is enough. If you can send (*lit.* give) such a man after the Puja holidays, I will appoint him. There are no further particulars about this place.

(4) BELONIA.

This place is situated in Independent Tippera, at a distance of about 18 miles from Feni. We had a "Farm" here, which is now going to be sold by public auction. This you know from my letter. Here there are left some money and articles (trunks, etc.) belonging to us. Someone must go there and bring them. In the "third class" we have got an energetic boy. His "guardian," a local pleader, is also of our party

* i.e., the tickets are not transferable.
† A big tank

(*lit.* is also ours), but he has not much ardour. After writing many letters (*lit.* after much writing and reading), I have at last received (his) reply "through" the boy. On that side also work will not make much progress if there are no men. The school at "Belonia" teaches up to the "third class." A "list" is given of the number of students and teachers of the school. I do not know any further particulars about this place. From the boys' "report" I learn that two or three (*lit.* 2 and 1) more boys have been (secured) there. Jaipur *Asram* (abode of *sanyasis*) is at a distance of 7 miles from here (where) we have got a few (*lit.* 2 and 1) men.

(5) SAROATOLI (BIDGRAM).

Here there is an "Entrance" school, where our Sriman Satish Chakrabarti is reading in the "first class." The place is situated 12 miles to the east of Chittagong town. One has to go there by boat or on foot after crossing the Karnafuli. The place can be reached from Chaktai, a port of Chittagong, by boat at a fare of one anna to three annas. The place is situated $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of the river Karnafuli, and a portion (*lit.* branch) of the Lushai Hills is not more than a mile's distance from here. The natural scenery is beautiful. It is under the "Patia" munsifi and the Sadar subdivision. Patia is to the south of this place, at a distance of 8 miles, where there is a thana.

This place is advanced as regards intellectual culture. The people everywhere are educated. The number of "Upper Primary, Lower Primary and Middle English Schools" is not small. Almost in every village there is a "Debating Club" and a library attached to it. The object of the clubs (*lit.* society) is to form character. But they are extremely indifferent in this matter. Foreign articles are being used in large quantities, "even among the students." Dried fish is the chief food. At a distance of 6 miles from here, there is a "Mahamuni," a place of pilgrimage of the Buddhists. Here there is also a "High" school, which is being highly "patronized" by Government.

NOTES ON ORGANIZATION.

(Below.)

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) Nalini Mitra. | (2) Chintaharan Pal. |
| (3) Kali Sankar Mazumdar. | (4) Annada De. |
| (5) Rajani Pal. | (6) Subodh Bhaumik. |
| (7) Naba Knmar Chaudhuri. | (8) Upendra Ray. |
| (9) Narendra Kumar De. | (10) Hemanga Bhaumik. |
| (11) Ram Prasanna Sinha. | (12) Triguna Prasanna Sinha. |
| (13) Hari Kumar. | |

(The rest torn off.)

On Sunday after next, that is to say, on the 20th Aswin, you will have to come here. On that day two or three persons are to be initiated.

Perhaps after the Puja I may get two or three (boys) from the Mangalkandi School.

Organization.—(iv) Medicine.—Chintaharan.

(v) Spying.— Ditto

(vi) Asram.—Subodh Bhaumik, Harendra Das, Upendra Ray, Hemanga Bhaumik, Kali Sarkar.

(vii) Press and writing.—Nalini Mitra, Naba Chaudhuri, Ram Prasanna.

Violence.— (i) Arms, repairing and handling.—Chintaharan, Triguna Sinha, Rajani Pal.

(ii) Action.— Ditto ditto.

(iii) Coining.— Ditto ditto.

(iv) Farming.— Hari Kumar.

APPENDIX B 6(xviii).

A REVOLUTIONARY ACCOUNT BOOK.

Found in the box of Girindra Mohan Das with stolen property, seditious literature and cartridges, November 1912.

(NOTE.—Girindra Mohan Das was convicted of receiving stolen property.)

EXHIBIT IV 17 (j)—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

Sri Kali.

FROM AGRAHAYAN 1318 (B.S.) UP TO 12TH ASHWIN 1319 (B.S.).

(1) Received in "Action" one finger-ring—

	RS. A P		RS. A. P.
1st <i>Agrahayan</i> collection and my own through		On shop account	300 0 0
Rajani Babu 18 + 9 ... =	27 0 0	"Act" expenses (in 3), total	100 0 0
In the month of <i>Pous</i> , Susil Babu ...	115 0 0	Portmanteau	8 8 0
Umesh Babu ...	2 0 0	Dagger (8) ...	7 0 0
In the month of <i>Magh</i> , deposited by Jatun		Bangala (2) ...	28 0 0
Ghosh, Sasanka and Debendra Ray	150 0 0	Ejector (twice) ...	2 0 0
In the month of <i>Chaitra</i> , Debendra Ray	55 5 3		
	349 5 3		445 8 0
In the month of <i>Vaisakh</i> , Master ...	15 0 0	Expenses in Jatun's case, total 144-10-9 + 75=	219 10 9
Sale of gold through Debendra Ray (25 × 16=) ...	400 0 0	Repairing boat	9 8 0
	764 5 3	Lost at Bhola	30 0 0
		Master in the month of <i>Jyaishtha</i>	20 0 0
Cash received ...	198 0 0		724 10 9
Finger rings (2) ...	16 5 0		
Sale of silver through Master	20 0 0		
	998 10 3	Travelling expenses of Master and Debendra to and from Comilla, etc.	19 9 9
Sale of a <i>gote</i> (ornament for the waist) ...	5 0 0	"Organization cost" up to now	70 0 0
Jatun Ghosh for shop ...	25 0 0	Payment of deposit of the month of <i>Magh</i>	150 0 0
Sasanka Ghosh for shop ...	20 0 0		964 4 6
Lalit Das ...	25 0 0		
Rajani Babu ...	10 0 0		
	1,083 10 3	Paid to Ramesh Acharya through Jatun Ghosh, maternal uncle, Debendra Ray, total	30 8 0
Received from shop ...	20 0 0	Master last time	5 0 0
	1,103 10 3		999 12 6
(Deducting) ...	1,040 12 6	For making "coin" (to Rajani Babu)	41 0 0
	62 13 9		1,040 12 6

REMAIN UNREALISED.

- (1) 174 tolas of silver from Nibaran Kar of Ramanandi.
- (2) Due from Gopal Mitra of Kauria out of Rs. 75, the price of 2 seers of silver, the balance of Rs. 55, Rs. 20 having been realised by Master. 15 *gote* rupees is also with him.
- (3) One finger-ring with Rajani Babu and cash Rs. 41 and one watch.
- (4) 63-4 *gote* rupees with Narendra.
- (5) 14 seers of silver with Chandi Kar.
- (6) There is also a D. B. at the Ray's bari.

	Sr.
Total "(i) silver	... 1 67
	14 0
	15 67 "
(ii) <i>gote</i> rupees	"78+ 1 siki."
(iii) "Hard cash" Rs. 55+ 41=Rs. 96."	
(iv) "1 ring and	
(v) 1 watch."	

Total with me now Rs. 62-13-8 + Rs. 3-8-0 (which I had before) + (on library account) Rs. 12-8-0=Rs. 78-13-9, and a gold finger-ring. The watch cannot be got back before the holidays; for Rajani Babu gave it to Ramani Babu's brother for sale.

He could not sell it. Ramani Babu's brother is now at Idilpur. The rest I shall get back a few days later. There is no possibility of gote rupees being sold here. Let me know if I should send the finger-ring with Satyendra Babu.

Debendra Ray's case will probably be finished on the 21st *Aswin*. That also will cost some money. With (this) I send also a letter from Debendra Ray.

I do not write anything particular at present. Well here. Want (to hear) good news in (your) next. Let me know whether Haribilas Babu will come here, and, if so, when. *Finis*.

Ever yours,
RAMESH.

APPENDIX B 6 (xix).

A REVOLUTIONARY NOTE-BOOK.

*Recovered on house search, 1916.**Explained by three revolutionaries N, Q and B.*

1st page]

Credit

1st trip	—	4025
2nd trip	—	1712
3rd trip	—	2280
4th trip	—	2548
5th trip	—	3500
6th trip	—	750

14815 (+ 150)

750 — Jali (*N says that this is the Bengali word Jali which means purse, i.e., treasurer, namely Umesh De*)

260 + 760 + 550 (*all scored out*)500 — Tagore (*N says that this is Thakur*)250 (*scored out*) — husband (*N says that this is Prabodh Sen*)655 + 400 (*scored out*) = B P (*N says that this is Bepin Dattu*)250 = Cucumber (*N & B say that this is Sashi Ray from the Bengali word Sashi meaning cucumber*)

(*N on 19th November 1916 said that 14815 (+ 150) represented the property stolen in the Nathghar Dacoity (15 of 1916). The money was brought in in several trips to Comilla Town from the scene of occurrence.*)

[2nd page]

Debit

1000	—	Calcutta
350	—	Jamai (<i>Krishna Lal Saha</i>)
3000	—	Calcutta
2300	—	Calcutta
2800	—	Calcutta
1000	—	M P (<i>Mymensingh</i>)
300	—	D B (<i>Dacca</i>)

10750

500 — Calcutta

11250

1400 — Calcutta

12650

Debit cucumber

55 + 30 + 60 + 50 + 10 + 25

(*in ink*) (*in indelible*) (*in pencil*)
pencil)

(*Represented money despatched from Comilla to places and persons noted.*)

Debit Tagore 25 + 50

(in pencil) one wrong

(Seven further pages omitted.)

APPENDIX B 6 (xx).

FOUND IN THE BOX OF AMRITA HAZRA AT THE BOMB FACTORY, 1913.

[NOTE.—Explained by a confessing revolutionary to be a list of members of a mess to be employed in the distribution of seditious leaflets. Seditious leaflets as well as bomb envelopes and revolutionary literature were found at this search.]

EXHIBIT 6-F—RAJA BAZAR BOMB CASE.

1.	Girindra Ch. Mallik	...	...	5th year class, University College.
2.	Jitendra Nath Ray Chaudhuri	...	...	4th year, Scottish.
3.	Surendra Nath Sen	...	...	5th year.
4.	Atul Behari Sen	...	...	2nd year, Metro.
5.	Dhirendra Nath Das Gupta	...	...	4th year, Metro.
6.	Surendra Nath Sen	...	...	3rd " "
7.	Kshetra Nath Sen	...	...	2nd " "
8.	Gopi Nath	...	...	4th " "
9.	Dhirendra Nath Chakra	...	...	1st " Central.
10.	Bhabatosh Ghosh	...	...	IInd " Rangabasi.
11.	Prafulla Chandra Sen Gupta	...	...	4th " Metro.
12.	Prafulla Chand Mazumdar	...	...	4th " "
13.	Puresh Ch. Barui	...	...	2nd " Central.
14.	Fani	...	...	Class X.
15.	Prabhat	...	...	Do.
16.	Sushil.			
17.	Jamini.			
18.	Ramesh Sil	...	...	2nd year Metro.
19.	Ashu Sen Gupta	...	...	1st " City.
20.	Satish Ch. Gupta	...	...	2nd " "

APPENDIX B 6 (xxi).

CYPHER LIST OF STUDENTS WITH THEIR COLLEGES OR HOSTELS.

Found at a revolutionary headquarters (Madan Bhaumik's house) in 1912.

EXHIBIT V (1)—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

DACCA COLLEGE.		(All in cypher.)									
		Baki	Ada	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Pratul	...	x	x								
Prafulla Ghosh.											
Kedar	...	x	x								
Girindra	...	x	x	x	x	0					
Hemranjan.											
Satindra.											
Jagadish.											
Arun Ray.											
Suresh Kiran.											
Gopal.											
Jogendra.											
Hem Shome.											
Dinesh Sen.											
Surendra Das.											
Makhan.											
Surendra Das (1).											
Khagendra Sen.											
Derendra.											
Saroj.											
Hemendra Ray.											
Brajendra Ghosh.											
Jogesh Mukharji.											
Abala Chakra.											
Bipin Dhar.											
Hemendra Sen.											
Sarada Chakra.											
Aswini Sen.											
Parimal Sirkar.											
Jnan Mitra.											
Suhrid Gupta.											
Kumud Sirkar.											
Satish Majum.											
Bhupesh Das.											
Aswini Bh.											
Sarada Sen.											
Jogu Datta.											
Dinesh De.											
JAGANNATH.											
Jiten Sen.											
Tarapeswar.											
Sukumar.											
Banamali.											
Niranjan.											
Satindra.											
Girindra.											
Nalini Khaet	...										

8 as. 2 as

JAGANNATH—con-
cluded.

	Baki	Ada	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Khagendra.									
Manmohan.									
Jnan Barari.									
Sudhir.									
Aswini.									
Harsanath.									
Debendra.									
Jogendra ...	x	x	x						
Prafulla.									
Hem Banner.									
Durga Mo.									
Sudendu ...			x						
Chandra Ch.									
Kali Pada ...			x						
Matil Lal.									
Bhujanga.									
Anath.									
Nalini Sil.									
Jogeswar.									
Abani Dutt.									
Dinesh Sen.									

COLLEGIATE.

Nripendra ...	x	x
Satyendra ...	x	x

JUBILEE.

Satindra ...	x	
Heramba ...	x	x
Sashi Dhar.		

UKIL.

Krishna ...	x	
Dhirendra.		
Kshitindra.		

POGOSE.

Golak ...	x	
-----------	---	--

IMPERIAL.

Subodh.
Sashi.

MEDICAL.

Aswini.									
Madan ...				XV	XV	V	V	V	

MITFORD.

Nalini ...	x	x	x
Indu ..	x	x	x
Bindu ...	x	x	x
Manoranjan.			

APPENDIX B 6 (xxii).

A REVOLUTIONARY NOTE-BOOK.

Recovered on house search, 1916. Two revolutionaries armed with revolvers were arrested at this house. The note-book is explained by a revolutionary T. The explanations are given in italics.

1st page—

Export to Pg

M (*Mauser*) — (1) g (*one in good condition*).

$\frac{4}{50}$ - E — (1) C B (*one 450 self-ejector—condition bad*).

$\frac{4}{50}$ - S — (1) C B .

$\frac{3}{80}$. — (1) g

f (*food, i.e., cartridges*).

M₁ (*Mauser*) — 20

$\frac{4}{50}$ — 24

$\frac{3}{80}$ — 12

2nd page—

KH (*Calcutta*).

M — (1) g

$\frac{4}{50}$ E — (1) g

f

3rd page—

Nht (*Naihati*).

Mf — 260

Bots — 5

Ng —

Bots

$\frac{4}{50}$ — one

f

$\frac{4}{50}$ — 12

4th page—

Borrow

Br (*Sishir Ghosh alias Brahmo*) — 12 + 42 + 30

Thi (*Jibon Thakurta alias Thibaut*) — 320

N2 (*No. 2, Harkata Lane*) — 38 (+ 10 in pen-
cil)

MK (*Berhampur*) — 100

Nabis (*Amrita Sarkar alias Nabis*) — 200

M (*Jogendra Das Bhattacharji alias
Maharaj*) — 50

*T says that is
an account of
money disburs-
ed by Jogendra
Das Bhatta-
charji.*

(Six similar pages omitted.)

(2)

(1) e one $\frac{8}{12} \frac{5}{10} \frac{5}{12} \frac{6}{14} \frac{5}{14} \frac{9}{10}, \frac{5}{15} \frac{8}{11} \frac{8}{11} \frac{5}{13}$ of

$\left(\text{three } \frac{5}{14} \frac{7}{14} \frac{6}{10} \frac{5}{17} \frac{8}{16} \frac{9}{15} \right).$

(1) F some $\left(\frac{9}{10} \frac{9}{13} \frac{5}{14} \frac{7}{17} \frac{9}{12} \frac{5}{14}, \frac{5}{11} \frac{8}{11} \frac{8}{14} \frac{5}{14} \frac{5}{15} \frac{8}{11} \frac{8}{11} \frac{5}{13} \right)$

(1) g 19 $\frac{5}{12} \frac{6}{11} \frac{5}{14} \frac{9}{10} \frac{6}{12}$

keyword "agent"

Code.

	5	6	7	8	9
10	A	G	E	N	T
11	b	h	f	o	u
12	c	i	g	p	v
13	d	j	h	q	w
14	e	k	i	r	x
15	f	l	j	s	y
16	g	m	k	t	z
17	h	n	l	u	a
18	i	o	m	v	b
19	j	p	n	w	c
20	k	q	o	x	d

deciphered reads—

- (1) e one packet food
(three eighty)
(1) F some (twelve bore
food)
1 g 19 "Cheti."

on the reverse is written in Bengali.

(3)

I have now 64

I have had to pay all my friend's expenses. Therefore my expenses
have come so heavy.

(In English) At present I am

On a slip of paper.

keyword "agent" as in 2 (d).

deciphered reads (English portions underlined)

- (1) A Two coats (*guns or rifles*)
(1) B four w. coats
are three 80
(1) C one four fifty
altogether five W. C. (*waist coats = pistols*).
(1) d one biscuit
box of Mauser food.

*On two sheets of paper attached by a pin containing fractional ciphers
deciphered with the keyword "Biral."*

key—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	B	l	I	s	R	b	A	k	L	v
2	c	m	j	t	s	c	b	l	m	w
3	d	n	k	u	t	d	c	m	n	x
4	e	o	l	v	u	e	d	n	o	y
5	f	p	m	w	v	f	e	o	p	z
6	g	q	n	x	w	g	f	p	q	a
7	h	r	o	y	x	h	g	q	r	b
8	i	s	p	z	y	i	h	r	s	c
9	j	t	q	a	z	j	i	s	t	d
10	k	u	r	b	a	k	j	t	u	e

(Fourteen further pages omitted.)

APPENDIX B 6 (xxiii).

A REVOLUTIONARY NOTE-BOOK.

Found with other revolutionary material in 1916 at the house of a person later made a State prisoner.

Page 1

y f g h i j k l m n

& y f g h i, etc.

Exercise book

on

Puzzles.

27 v 16.

Page 2

$\frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{2}{1} \quad \frac{2}{11} \quad \frac{2}{1}$ (in pencil).

Italy.

Page 3 (1)

(O Sri Hari in Bengal)

(Hari is the keyword for Uqmillia).

Solve—

$$1. \quad \frac{4}{1} + \frac{5}{3} \text{ of } \frac{6}{2} - \frac{7}{4} - \frac{5}{8}$$

("V" explained that this was a key made out of Hari into Italy. It is not clear how this is obtained.)

$$2. \quad \left(\frac{5}{6} \text{ (mistake—should be } \frac{5}{7} \right) \div \frac{9}{10} + \left(\frac{6}{4} \div \frac{3}{8} \right) \times \frac{5}{4} \text{ of } \frac{2}{9} =$$

$$\frac{9}{9} \left(\frac{\frac{8}{6}}{\frac{10}{5}} \times \frac{6}{10} + \frac{8}{10} \text{ of } \frac{6}{8} \right)$$

$$(a) \quad \frac{5}{2} \left\{ \frac{6}{5} - \left(\frac{6}{3} - \frac{2}{10} \right) \div \frac{8}{8} \right\} - \frac{5}{1} + \frac{7}{5} = 2$$

in a bag not of cloth

$$(b) \quad 20 \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{8}{7} - \frac{7}{4} \left(\frac{6}{8} \right) \text{ of } \frac{5}{5} \right\}} \text{ in a}$$

small wooden box the number
not known perhaps 50

$$(c) \quad 12 \times \frac{2}{10} \left[\frac{1}{7} + \frac{7}{7} - \frac{4}{2} \right] \text{ seeds } \div 50$$

in one pack.

All these in a trunk perhaps 24 inches.

Keyword "Italy"

Code.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	I	S	T	D	A	K	L	V	Y	O
2	J	T	U	E	B	L	M	W	Z	P
3	K	U	V	F	C	M	N	X	G	Q
4	L	V	W	G	D	N	O	Y	H	R
5	M	W	X	H	E	O	P	Z	I	S
6	N	X	Y	I	F	P	Q	A	J	T
7	O	Y	Z	J	G	Q	R	B	K	U
8	P	Z	A	K	H	R	S	C	L	V
9	Q	A	B	L	I	S	T	D	M	W
10	R	B	C	M	J	T	U	E	N	X

Item 2 deciphered with this reads

Annada Master

- (a) Bomb cap = 2 in a bag not of cloth (i.e., ordinary white canvas not oil cloth)
- (b) 20 bore (cartridges) in a small etc.
- (c) 12 bore seeds (cartridges) = 50 etc.

("V" explained that these articles were with Annada Chakravarti alias Master of Kheyais, 4 miles east of Comilla Town. He was a teacher of a village pathsala. This man's house was searched on 19th October 1916 and in it were discovered—

one Mauser pistol
 one automatic
 one 310 bore Webley revolver
 one shot gun
 one Winchester rifle (stolen in Haripur dacoity,
 one Mannlicher rifle

He was convicted and sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.)

Page 5 (2)

(portions in cipher underlined) deciphered (keyword Italy)

3. Subal

- (a) loading and clearing machine fresh for use in one box of biscuits
- (b) one long kousa of wind crops

("V" said this means Winchester cartridges. Subal was a boy of 12 of village Kheyais. Upon a search of the house of Subal Sarkar on 19th October 1916 no arms were found, but a cipher key showing how to change the pass word of the day was found.)

(Further similar pages omitted.)

APPENDIX B 6 (xxiv).**DISPOSITION LIST OF ARMS, COMILLA ATTEMPTED DACOITY.**

Found with 12 youths assembled at night with revolvers and implements for dacoity. Ten convicted of assembling to commit dacoity, 1912.

EXHIBIT XV (2)—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

1. Kumud.	Hammer.
2. Jogesh.	Chheni.
3. Madan.	S. B. R. 380.
4. Bipad.	S. B. L.
1. Nisi.	H.
2. Bira.	Chheni.
3. Rebati.	S. B. L.
4. Arun.	450.
1. Nayan.	D. L.
2. Kalachand.	R. Pin.
3. Dhiren.	D.
1. Debendra.	G.
2. Ramesh.	450.
3. Doctor.	
1. Jiten.	L. D. R. 450.
2. Kali Prasanna.	R. 380.
3. Baghu.	D.
1. Paritosli.	Automatic.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxv).**LIST OF CARTRIDGES, ETC.**

Found in the box of Girindra Mohan Das at Dacca, 1912.

**EXHIBIT IV-17 (k)—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY
CASE.**

Loaded cartridges	...	...	33	166
" "	...	...	50-95	201
Blank	..	...	450	167
" "	...	...	380	50
" "	...	...	12 bore 33 + 21	
" "	...	...	5,771, 450	
" "	...	...	476	
" "	...	...	16	
" "	...	...	500	
Loaded	..	...	73	
Percussion caps	...	...	5	
Gunpowder	...	...	1 barrel.	
Bullets, large and small	...	...	...
Machines for loading, etc.	...	...	...
Screw-driver	...	...	1	
Cartridges	...	...	44	7
Loaded cartridges	...	...	380	25

APPENDIX B 6 (xxvi).**LIST OF CARTRIDGES AND ARMS.***Found in 1917 with two absconders, now State prisoners.*

(Cal.)

Ball

(I)	No.	12
	B —	17
	2 —	12
	3 —	8
	4 —	24
	5 —	24
	6 —	17
		—
		102
		5
		—
		107

(II)	Dr.	—	6
III	Gn.	—	1
IV	Bl.	—	2
V	BM.	—	2

* *

F	450	—	45
S	450	—	5
F	455	—	5
U			6 + 1
<hr/>			
M			23

38	Long		6
360	No. 5	—	21 + 1
380	Short	--	5
S	380	—	3
12	Bros.	=	40
E			20

APPENDIX B 6 (xxvii).

LETTER MADE OVER TO THE POLICE IN 1916 BY A COLLEGE AUTHORITY. *

[NOTE.—It was addressed to a student now a *détenu*.]

OM.

CH.

Tuesday night.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I suppose you are going on well these days. Is it so?

You will be extremely sorry to learn that to-day (Tuesday) morning **ক্রিকেট টাকট**¹ has been **কর্তৃত্ব তুচ্ছ**² at D. P.³ in the house of your addressee. Do not write any letter to the previous address.

Just now a boy has come here with that news. Thank God that I have escaped again. He entreated me much to remain with him there, but in spite of all his requests I left that place on the very next day after I reached there. This will go hard with us.

There is not a single boy who knows everything well. There was also a **ইক চতী**⁴ at D. P. That is also lost. You have I suppose come to know the present condition of K. P.⁵

That is the state of affairs! What is to be done now? Arrange accordingly. I am at a loss to decide the case. I shall do nothing till I can see Jamai. Be prompt in your management. If I cannot see Jamai⁶ during this week I shall start for N. B.⁷ You cannot expect anything now from here.

Write letter at D.P. to the following address. All right. Hoping you are to be the same.

Yours.

PRASANTA.¹

The catching word⁸ of D. P. is Ram (in pencil). Write *thus*:

Address of D. P.

ক্রিকেট টাকট ই কর্তী ই কর্তী টে

(১). ককট তুচ্ছ ইকতী কি কট্ ফল চিপু ৫৫৫৫৫৫ চি ত তীত
ককী P. O. ক্রিকেট

I am giving another address. Write only one letter to the above address. So far. The catching word is *Ram*.

There are about 9 or 10 boys in my hand. What shall I do with them? Remember that I can't hand them over. Another boy with a letter has also been taken away.

¹ Decipherment reads "Ranjan."² Decipherment reads "arrested."³ Dacca Samiti abbreviation for Dacca⁴ Decipherment reads "Mauset."⁵ Dacca Samiti abbreviation for Comilla.⁶ Arrested later with a stolen revolver, ammunition, cyphers, etc.⁷ North Bengal.⁸ The samiti name of a revolutionary assassin, later arrested.⁹ i.e., cipher key-word.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxviii).

LETTER RELATING TO ARMS AND CALLING UP A STUDENT.*

Extract from a revolutionary letter found with a student of the Presidency College in 1916.

Have you enquired of Chasma through Mota Bhai about the article? Has the article been received or when will it be received? If it has been received, then, if in the meantime no one from here goes there, tell Prafulla of the Bangabasi to arrange for sending the article here. Make some arrangement before the holidays. In the meantime let the article in Kushari's hand reach here. Cannot Kushari come here and open a shop? First of all, mark his "attitude." If the infatuation for graduating is very strong on him, then do not say anything more. But if this is not the case and he is willing to come, leaving everything aside, then try. Tell him that he has to go, on these "purposes"—"50—55 miles" away from "Calcutta." He will open the shop as a means of protection, and he will have liberty to do, and he must do, all kinds of work. He must not come out of that place, even if people from (his) home come and weep. He will have to undergo much physical "hardship." There are many "risks" and "responsibilities." The thing to be seen to first of all is that he does not go after a few days owing to his affection for home or love of study. The cries of his father and his mother, what they will eat—let not these "considerations" come at all; "first" see to that.

* * * * *

Dundas has got an article with him. Find out an opportunity to send it here.

* * * * *

Should we remain so deaf through our excessive love for our families that the piteous call of the Motherland will not reach our ears? When there have arisen loud wailings of thousands your life and mine are nothing.

NOTE.—(1) The writer of this letter was later arrested armed with a loaded revolver and with poison and revolutionary letters on him.

(2) The youth referred to as Kushari in this letter was later wounded while committing revolutionary dacoity and was killed by his own associates as they feared he might hamper their movements.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxix).

LETTER.

Found with one of the accused in the Madaripur conspiracy case, later bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code.

[NOTE.—The person to whom the letters are to be addressed is one of the men who pleaded guilty in the Khulna-Jessore gang case and was released on his own recognizances. He is now a fugitive in connection with the Bengal branch of the German conspiracy.]

EXHIBIT 49 (2)—MADARIPUR CONSPIRACY CASE.

BELoved ONE,

Make good arrangement for the bearer of this letter. Why did you not send the gun (*the word is written in Bengali*) as promised? Great loss has hereby been caused to us. You must arrange to send the gun with the bearer. Do not fail to do so. It is urgently needed otherwise work will not be done. Somehow or other you must arrange for the gun. Eight members are required for the above work. Make arrangement for that. They should come with this bearer. It is unnecessary to write much. We are so and so. Your welfare is prayed for. I should like to have good news about yourselves.

Yours,
JATINDRA,
Raypur.

P.S.—Please do as requested.

Address to—

Beloved One,

Bejoy Chandra Chakravarti,
C/o Ram Ram Chakravarti,

Village Unasia,
Kotalipara.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxx).

COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN IN INVISIBLE INK TO A REVOLUTIONARY LEADER IN JAIL (1916).

17th of January. All are well at home. I have sent you letters. Why have you not sent replies? There is no reason to be apprehensive on account of the work. The articles have been removed from Dacca and sent to Cuttack (and) Madaripur. The work is going on well. You will let me know how Bipin, Harsha Nath, Biren, Sashi are getting on. Know the arrest of Girin, Anukul, Durga Charan. Tegart saheb came here one day. He did not find very much.

SATYA.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxxi).

LETTER ADDRESSED TO A REVOLUTIONARY HEADQUARTERS, 1917.

Intercepted in the post.

Twenty or 21 tolas of gold may be sold. The man is very reliable. There is nothing to apprehend. We shall have to arrange within 15 days if you agree. We are all right. Pray to know your welfare.

Yours faithfully,

C.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxxii).

LETTER.

Found at the house-search of Kali Prasanna Mukharji, 19th August 1910, with a revolver and cartridges, a sword and a dagger.

EXHIBIT 32—KHULNA GANG CASE.

BANDE MATARAM.

SIR,

I came here yesterday from Jessore. I hear that many policemen will go to your place to investigate the dacoity case. So please take Manmatha Babu with you and keep all things very carefully at some solitary place buried in the ground that we may not fall into trouble. I will go home shortly and see you. I shall have to stay here for some days longer to collect some more things. All other things you will hear from this man. The police are always upon the alert. I cannot write more, as I am busy. See that the work of the samiti goes on regularly without fail.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) S. K. [ILLEGIBLE].

[Address on the reverse.]

BABU K. P. MUKHARJI.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxxiii).

LETTER RELATING TO ARMS.*

Extract from a revolutionary letter found in an almirah with four stolen Mauser pistols, a revolver and the seals of the revolutionary party, 1916.

There are 10 Burner and 1,500 cartridges with Ghatak. Chatarji is very intimate with him. Can he not by some strategem get the lot or a part of it out of him? He must not make any mention of me. If Ghatak mentions my name and says that he has forbidden the making over of the articles to anybody till the release of his interned men, then let him be told that, according to information received, the interned people will never return. Ask him to do this work at the Puja time. If Ghatak comes to see me I shall tell him that Chatarji wants to see him on some important business. Chatarji must not say that he himself came to see me. He should say that he sent a man to me. If you think it necessary to remove anybody else, it may be done by Chatarji. It will not be so convenient to have anybody brought from outside to do it.

* * * * *

The Mausers are in the keeping of Ghatak's mother's sister. I shall manage to secure the address. Is it not possible to go and institute a search in the house or organise a dacoity and bring away the things? The place is situated on the loop line, six or eight miles away from the railway line. If it is on the bank of the Ajai (I don't know if it is), it will not be a bad thing if we organize relief work and make an effort. If a dacoity is to be committed, nothing more need be said. If, on the other hand, a search is to be instituted, we must come away saying that the things are in charge of a woman, none else in the house knows anything, and before the woman with the articles is placed under arrest, the Magistrate at Birbhum must be informed. If, again, you think that nothing should be done now, but that on the last day 15 or 30 men should go there, and taking possession of the things destroy the district station, let the matter be postponed for the present.

NOTE --On this letter, seven more stolen Mauser pistols and over 1,000 rounds of ammunition were recovered at the place indicated and the holders were convicted.

APPENDIX B 6 (xxxiv).

THE QUESTIONS LETTER.*

Found in the box of Girindra Das, November 1912.

EXHIBIT IV-13—BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE.

Questions—

1. Well, can you say what shall we gain by swelling our ranks with such school students? Is the liberation of India so easy that a few, or many, Bengali clerks (*lit.*, persons who live by writing), or Indians, for the matter of that, will be able to drive out a large number of warriors, who are skilled in the art of warfare, and whose companion in life is fighting? Those who become deaf at the sound of the insignificant potash, who are totally ignorant as to how to fight, how to fire a pistol and so on, and who cannot realize how severe (warfare) is, tell me, what will they be able to do when the time comes? They will not be able even to keep their legs firm on the field of battle; their feet will totter. Tell me what you can hope to do with them. If we do not learn the art of warfare, or cannot make the soldiers rebellious, how will the work be accomplished? All the Powers are in dread of the British Army; only we, though we are powerless, have taken the vow of fighting against it. How can that be possible? Of course, everything is possible if they quarrel among themselves (*lit.*, if there is internal enmity). But if another sepoy mutiny does not take place, what do you hope to accomplish?

2. Can any centres be established on the hills and mountains or are any efforts being made in that direction? Are they making efforts to win over the soldiers (and, if so), is there any hope of good result? Ask this.

3. Centres must be established on the hills as in Anandamath (Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel); otherwise how can there be training? Secret murders or guerilla wars will not do. When orders are given for "wholesale massacre," we must then take the "open field" for the protection of the people. So it is necessary to have military training; (but) where are the arrangements therefor?

4. Is there any proper arrangement for the maintenance of those who have renounced the world for this work? If they have to remain busy in earning a livelihood (*lit.*, in filling their own bellies) by doing other service, how can they in that case "devote" their "whole mind" (to this work)? This party ought first of all to devise measures for their maintenance and treatment in disease. Otherwise, what hope is there?

5. Well, suppose we win victory, who is to serve (us) when there are internal quarrels amongst ourselves? First, take the Musalmans, the disciples of Muhammad, of the race of Nabi, our eternal enemies, they will hinder us at every step. The first quarrel is therefore with them. In India even brothers at home are not on friendly terms with one another; how can they rule a country? The few men that belong to the party may be of one mind, but who will oppose or act as mediator when the luxurious Hindu zamindars or Princes again make attempts to extend their liberty? You may say that we, who accomplished the work, shall do this. (But) if, in order to make up this quarrel, we have to fight with all successively, then how can there be peace? It will take a long time for brotherly feeling to be created among the Hindus of India alone. So what hope is there for any work being done in one or two "generations?" Therefore do I say that the creeper (*i.e.*, plant) of our hope has every chance of being reduced to ashes by the strong heat of the British. Consider what our situation will be if we fail in our first attempt. This time there will be no amnesty by proclamation. Whenever I consider all this, the thought (*lit.*, word) of our failure comes to my mind. It is absolutely certain that we have no hope if we fail to win over the soldiers. Nowadays the Gurkhas number large in the army, and every year their number is being more largely increased than that of the other soldiers, the Punjabis and the Marathas. (We) shall therefore have to visit the country of the Gurkhas and secure them first of all.

You must raise these questions in a special manner before them and write to me what they say in regard to every one of them. *Finis.*

Yours (here something illegible).

APPENDIX B.

	WEST BENGAL	BARISAL	MYTHERSINGH	HEADQUARTERS	DACCA	COMILLA	CHITTAGONG
1906				Dacca			
1907				Pala Das			
1908				Deportation of Pala Das			
1909			Upendra Kishore Ray Monsi Mohan Sen	Mohsin Sen			
1910	Dumfries		Ramesh Acharya				
1911	Assam Bhattacharya			Nora Sen			
1912	Prailok Chakravarti Natore	Ramesh Acharya	Purna Chakravarti	Arrest of Nora Sen in Barisal Conspiracy Case		Sarda Chakravarti Chakravarti murdered 1918 Ramesh Das Conilla attempted Dakshin Ramesh Dagari arrested	Chandra Shekar Das
1913	Nora Sen Bhattacharya	Popal Das	Commencement of Barisal Conspiracy Case	Prailok Chakravarti	Arrest of Nora Sen	Pala Gupta	Nagendra Das
1914	Rajkumari Prabhat Bhattacharya Pranab Lal Nalini Ghosh		Marital Borne	Nora Sen	Nora Sen bound down	Purna Chakravarti	Nalini Ghosh Chitragang murder
1915	Jnan Thakura		Anisat Lohia Beak Sarkar	SAUTTA Nagendra Das Nagendra Das Arrested at Natore Anisat Sarkar	Purna Chakravarti Arrested Chakravarti bound down	Sarda Chakravarti Bhattacharya	Monsi Sen Jogendra Das Bhattacharya
1916	Jogendra Bhattacharya		Prabhat Das Gupta	Jogendra Das Bhattacharya Arrest of Jogendra Das Bhattacharya Jnan Thakura	Search of 83 Chakravarti Anisat Chakravarti Gita	Prabhat Sen Anisat Arrest of Prabhat Sen	Monsi Sen Gita
1917	Sarda Bhattacharya	Baral Ray		Arrest of Jnan Thakura Krishnakant Shukla	Nora Gupta	Lakshmi Kanta Ray	Prabhat Arrest of Chandrabhag Prasad Chakravarti

APPENDIX B 8.

Inter-communication of parties.

STATEMENT OF No. 512, 1915.

They gave me to understand that they had already had information regarding the coming of the *Maverick*, which they had expected at the end of June, and that they had already made all arrangements. * * * I asked him what the organisation was, what their plans were, and what their actual organisation for the rising in Bengal. He gave me to understand that there were 45 districts in Bengal. In each district there was a leader, and under each of these there was a large number of young men. Thus altogether they had about ten thousand revolutionaries. When I asked them who their chief was, he said that there was not only one chief, but there were five or six chief leaders. He said that some of these chiefs were already in hiding as warrants were out against them. In case any important action was to be taken, or any important question to be decided, all the leaders met (chief leaders, I mean) and measures were taken according to their unanimous opinion. In the case of a vacancy among the chief leaders a district leader was appointed. District leaders of one place did not know the district leaders of another, and similarly the men of one district did not know the men of another. This system of water-tight compartments was necessary, he said, in order to guard against betrayal.

STATEMENT OF No. 176, 1915.

It is a rule with us not to ask anybody's name or address. It is impossible for any one man to tell you the whole organization. Had that been the case, you could have known it by this time.

AMULYA SARKAR'S PAMPHLET.

The leader should have relation or keep communication with other organizations in the same locality or elsewhere. He should know the methods of work of other organizations.

* * * * *

Rules for the guidance of the Foreign Department.

Section F.

The important duty of the head of this department will be to receive and send foreign embassies. He and he alone should have acquaintance with foreign matters, of which the following:—

- (a) Negotiation with other organizations inside and outside the centre town.
- (b) News published daily in the newspapers.
- (c) Reports of political cases as to how they are conducted.
- (d) Communication with interned suspects.
- (e) Publication of useful books and their price.
- (f) Events that are taking place outside the town.
- (g) Contemporary events of other countries beyond India.
- (h) History of the Indian National Movement.

* * * * *

The chief should alone discuss foreign matters and receive messengers and deputies sent by other revolutionary organizations outside his own centre town.

* * * * *

STATEMENT OF No. 24, 1916.

There are two parties in Mymensingh—(1) the Anusilan party, which committed the Sahildeo dacoity, and (2) Jatin Mukharji's party, which publishes the *Jugantar* leaflets and calls itself the *Jugantar* party. This party has members in, Calcutta, Mymensingh and Barisal. They are not on good terms with the Anusilan members. The leaders of both parties are in communication.

STATEMENT OF No. 252, 1912.

The parties are separate, but the leaders communicate with each other.

STATEMENT OF No. 127, 1917.

I belong to the Calcutta party. I never had any connection with the members of the Anusilan party. Only the leaders do so. Prabodh Sen and Aswini Bhattacharji often exchanged words. I know Prabodh by sight. (803., 18.)

STATEMENT OF No. 346, 1913.

When Khudiram was hanged, there was a rumour that there would be a revolution in Calcutta, and this was to a certain extent true. The leader of the *Jugantar* party asked the several samitis in India for the number of men they would be able to supply in case of necessity, and the Anusilan agreed to send 20,000 at first, but subsequently found that only 2,000 were ready to volunteer. I was one of them. The Punjab, Madras, U. P., and other provinces agreed to raise numbers of men. The whole total came to about a lakh and 25 thousand, but when they were called to submit lists only the Anusilan furnished a list of 2,000 and the other provinces sent in small numbers, varying between 150—200. The whole list did not exceed 4,000 names. (2098-P., 43.)

STATEMENT OF No. 363, 1917.

I was introduced to Sasanka Mohan Hazra by A. Sasanka was the intermediary between the Anusilan Samiti of Pulin Das of Dacca and the party of Western Bengal.

STATEMENT OF No. 31, 1916.

I heard also that Mona is the link between our party and the other party (I mean Jatin Mukharji's party). Every communication between these two parties must pass through Mona.

STATEMENT OF No. 27, 1917.

Mati has got his own organization at Chandernagore, which is very strong. I do not know any member of his organization. I know Mati is a member of the Anusilan, but he works for other parties also. He has also got his own organization at different places outside Bengal, *e.g.*, Benares and other places. The organizer at Benares is a personal friend of Mati as I heard.

APPENDIX B 9.

Inter-communication of parties.

STATEMENT OF No. 589, 1917.

It was during the leadership of Dharendra Mohan Ghatak that the Dacca Anusilan first came into the town of Rajshahi. Dhiren was consulted and he did not object. It was his opinion that if there be two different organizations, then every student of the town must be recruited in either of the parties, and that the healthy rivalry would minimise the defects of both the organizations, and thus their task would be easier.

STATEMENT OF No. 27, 1917.

A asked B whether, if any action (dacoity) was committed in Calcutta, it would cause any injury to our organization in any way. B enquired of the locality, and A said between Beadon Square and Cornwallis Square. A also told B that the action would be a motor action, and that they themselves would commit the same as they were short of money. B replied that no harm would be done to our organization if the action was committed in that locality.

STATEMENT OF No. 139, 1916.

While I was at Comilla, I learnt that the Dacca party and Comilla party had close connections. One day Situ was telling me that the Dacca party had informed him that they would commit a dacoity at a certain place and asked him to remove their arms, ammunition, papers and the members of their gang, if any, from the said area in which they proposed to commit that dacoity. Situ also informed me that they (Comilla party) would request them (Dacca party) not to commit any dacoity there as the proposed place was very close to Comilla town. I cannot say if any dacoity was actually committed or not. While I was at Comilla I heard of a dacoity at Brahmanbaria, and that time Situ told me that perhaps they committed the dacoity at Brahmanbaria instead of doing it at the place proposed beforehand.

STATEMENT OF No. 589, 1917.

One day the Anusilan was trying to commit another dacoity in the district of Rangpur. As this would hamper the work of the Northern Bengal party, Badal went to Atul Ghosh to give information. Atul Ghosh requested one "Dada Bhai" to stop it.

STATEMENT OF No. 1, 1916.

Nepal saw Nalini Ghosh about 10 or 12 days after Basanta Babu's murder, when Nalini asked Nepal to inform Atul Ghosh about his inability to inform his party about the murder in time as he said he had got information of the plan at the eleventh hour. The following conversation took place between them:—

Nalini: "Well, now that you belong to another party, you do not like to talk to us? Why is this? Our aim is common. Then why do you not come to us?"

Nepal: "Well, now that you have finished Basanta Babu, you have done a real work. You have enlightened our face and party. The Barisal party tried, our party also tried, but we could not complete it, but you have done this with the outmost perseverance."

Nalini: "Yes, but this was not a great act as you say. We are really sorry that many of your party have been arrested since the murder. Your party has suffered a great loss and we think that this loss is more to the party than the gain achieved by Basanta Babu's murder."

Nepal: "Well, we are ready to suffer this loss. But we consider Basanta Babu's murder a very great gain."

Nalini: "Please tell Atul Babu that we are really sorry that we could not give timely intimation to his party, so that the members could shift and evade arrest."

STATEMENT OF No. 208, 1912.

From the conversation I had with Abinash Babu, Manindra Babu and Narendra Nath Sen at Calcutta, it transpired that they have been trying to amalgamate all the secret samitis and branches, so that the strength of the whole organization will be known to the principal organizers, and for this purpose I used to go to the above house as required, while in Calcutta.

STATEMENT OF No. 204, 1916.

One or two days after the Corporation Street dacoity in Calcutta Atul Ghosh and Binay came to Mati Babu's (Mati Lal Ray's) house to bring newspapers. Mati Babu asked Atul Ghosh who had committed the Corporation Street dacoity. Atul said it was committed by the Barisal party.

STATEMENT OF No. 75, 1917.

Ananta Haldar is unmarried. He has a mother in Murshidabad. He belongs to all parties.

STATEMENT OF No. 24, 1916.

I heard about Mati Ray and Manindra Nayak, of Chandernagore. They published a fortnightly magazine called *Prabartak*. They are connected with both West and East Bengal parties.

APPENDIX B 10.

Amalgamation of parties.

STATEMENT OF No. 336, 1913.

About a year after the arrest of Pulin Das, a conference was held in the Dacca *hajat* in which Pulin Das, Ashutosh Das Gupta, Santipada Mukharji, Jogendra Das Gupta, and some others discussed the question of amalgamating the organizations of East Bengal and West Bengal, and it was finally decided that the amalgamation should take place. About a couple of months after this conference, Manindra Nath Ray son of the late Nibaran Chandra Ray, of Komarpur, Faridpur, was deputed to give effect to the above decision. Pulin Babu gave instructions to the effect that Manindra and others should consult Makhan Lal Sen before doing anything. After a lapse of some time I heard that the organizations for both the provinces had been amalgamated and I believe that there is truth in it. It was after this amalgamation that the East Bengal boys learnt bomb-manufacturing.

STATEMENT OF No. 66, 1916.

That night (24th April 1914) at about 10 P.M. Narendra Sen, the leader of the Dacca party, came to Haridas at No. 46, Baitakhana Road, and proposed an amalgamation of his party with that of Hem Ghosh. He asked Haridas to go to No. 88, Upper Circular Road, at any time in the afternoon on the following two or three days, for which he would remain there. He further said that Pratul Ganguli and Madan Bhaumik and three or four other members would also be present at the time for consultation with Narendra Sen and Haridas.

STATEMENT OF No. 24, 1916.

There was a proposal to amalgamate the Bhanga party with ours if they were disconnected with the Western Bengal organization. Previously this party was led by Purna Das, who mixed with the West Bengal party.

STATEMENT OF No. 239, 1916.

He took the name of Mati Lal Ray, of Chandernagore, and said that all the different parties of Bengal would soon unite under his leadership.

APPENDIX B 11.-

DETAILS OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE RECOVERIES OF THE MAUSER PISTOLS STOLEN FROM MESSRS. RODDA & CO.

- West Bengal party. 1. In the course of enquiries regarding the Beliaghata dacoity of 22nd February 1915, a taxi-cab was found on the morning of the 23rd February 1915 in Badurbagan. On searching the taxi-cab Mauser pistol No. 176311 (loaded), a clip containing 10 cartridges, one loose cartridge and other articles were recovered.
- Faridpur party. 2. Enquiries made in the course of the investigation of the Garden Reach dacoity led to the search of No. 20, Fakir Chand Mitter Lane, Calcutta, on the 25th February 1915, where Hira Lal Biswas, Niranjana Das, Radha Charan Paramanik and Patit Paban Ghosh were arrested. Radha Charan Paramanik was found sitting on Mauser pistol No. 176465 with the magazine fully loaded and the hammer at full cock. Radha Charan Paramanik and Hira Lal Biswas were convicted.
- North Bengal party. 3. Special enquiries by the Rangpur Police at Mahiganj (Rangpur town) regarding certain bad characters, led to the arrest, on the night of the 31st May 1915, of Jatin Hui who, accompanied by Annada Prasad Chaudhuri, a resident of Mahiganj, was challenged by a constable while engaging a gari. The constable was not satisfied with Jatin Hui's statement, and took him to the thana, where he was kept in custody. The next morning, on enquiry from the driver of the gari, it was ascertained that Jatin had left a box in the cab. The box was found to contain two Mauser pistols, Nos. 176524 and 176563, and 51 rounds of Mauser cartridges, etc. Jatin Hui was bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code.
- West Bengal and Faridpur parties. 4. In the course of enquiries regarding the German conspiracy, it was ascertained that Jatin Mukharji had established a retreat near Balasore. The party disappeared from that place, followed by the police, who traced them, on the 9th October 1915, to a jungle near Kaptipada, Balasore. Armed resistance was offered by the conspirators, who eventually surrendered after two of their party were shot. Mauser pistols Nos. 176464, 176492, and 176542, were recovered from their possession. In the affray, Uditpriya Ray Chaudhuri was shot dead, and Jatin Mukharji mortally wounded. The others of the party were Manoranjan Sen, Nirendra Das and Jyotish Pal. These were subsequently tried, the first two executed, and the last named sentenced to transportation for life.
- Barisal party. 5. During the investigation of the Sibpur dacoity, information was received that three of the accused, Satyendra Sen, Bijay Mitra and Radhika Ganguli, had in their possession certain weapons and stolen property which they had concealed in a jungle close to the scene of their arrest at Baraset (24-Parganas). On a search not far from the place where these men were arrested, six weapons, viz., Mauser pistols Nos. 176490 and 176516, another Mauser (traced to Gange) and three revolvers were recovered on the 17th October 1915. The three men were acquitted.
- Dacca Anusilan. 6. Mauser pistol No. 176432, together with an automatic pistol and a quantity of rifle and revolver ammunition, was recovered at the search of the Sakha Press, Patuatoli, Dacca, on 18th November 1915. Information to the effect that certain members of the revolutionary party were absconding in Dacca led to this press and other places being raided by the police. Two men were convicted, but acquitted on appeal.
- Barisal party. 7. Information was received by the police that Narendra Mohan Ghosh Chaudhuri, an important absconder, was residing at No. 77, Serpentine Lane. This house was searched on the 30th November 1915, and resulted in the arrest of Narendra Ghosh Chaudhuri, Kali Charan De and Upendra Kishor Ray. Kali Charan De was asleep at the time of the raid, and on the officers entering his room, he attempted to draw something from under his pillow, which proved to be Mauser pistol No. 176540 loaded and cocked, with one cartridge in the chamber and seven in the magazine. Kali Charan De was convicted.
- Dacca (Hem Ghosh). 8. Mauser pistol No. 176550 was recovered by Mr. Tegart from a confidential source.
- Barisal party. 9. On the night of the 29th January 1916, a Bengali youth was arrested in the jurisdiction of the Muchipara police-station, Calcutta, with a fully loaded and cocked Mauser pistol, No. 176485, and 30 cartridges in his possession. The youth subsequently stated that he was Debendra Chaudhuri, of Sylhet, who had been untraced for a considerable period. He was made a State prisoner.
- West Bengal party (Satish Chakrabarti). 10. Information was received by the police that an important absconder had taken refuge in a house in Domepara Lane, Golabari, Howrah. The place was raided on the morning of the 5th August 1916 and the raid resulted in the capture of Sudhir Shome and Jugal Kishor Datta. The latter was armed and opened fire on the head constable who eventually effected his arrest. Mauser pistol No. 176466 was found in his possession. Jugal Datta was convicted.
- Dacca Anusilan. 11. On receipt of information that Annada Charan Chakrabarti, of Khayesh, Kotwali police-station, Tippera, was a member of the revolutionary party and kept arms and ammunition in his possession, a warrant was secured for the search of his house. The house was searched on the 19th October, 1916, and Mauser pistol No. 175625, a Webley revolver, two rifles, a single-barrelled breach-loading gun, etc., were recovered. He was convicted.
12. On receipt of information from a confessing revolutionary, two police officers were sent to a village in Dacca, whence they returned on the 14th November 1916

with Mauser pistols Nos. 176442, 176553, and 176570 and 212 rounds of Mauser ammunition.

13. Information was received from different sources which showed that Bengali revolutionaries were still using Chandernagore as a retreat. Accordingly on the 1st December 1916, a number of houses at Chandernagore were raided by I.B. officers assisted by the French Police. In the house of Tinkari Banarji and his three sons, four Mauser pistols, Nos. 176434, 176439, 176502 and 176620, a revolver, some ammunition, seditious literature, etc., were recovered. Kshetra Charan Banarji was convicted. Chandernagore party.

14. In a Bengali letter recovered at Chandernagore on the 1st December 1916, mention was made of one "Ghatak," and certain weapons were said to be in the possession of Ghatak's aunt. Enquiries in this connection led to the recovery on the 8th January 1917 of seven Mauser pistols, Nos. 176404, 176433, 176498, 176562, 176565, 176624, and 176622, and 1,127 rounds of ammunition at Phaupara, Birbhum, in the joint possession of Nibaran Ghatak and a Bengali lady, Dukori Bala Debi. Nibaran Ghatak and Dukori Bala Debi were convicted. Bepin Ganguli party.

15. On the 23rd July 1917, a Sub-Inspector of the I.B., while travelling between Brahmanbaria and Dacca, entered a compartment occupied by several *bhadralok* youths, one of whom, by his efforts to conceal some articles under his wearing apparel, attracted his attention. Subsequent events confirmed the officer's suspicions and resulted in the capture at Dacca railway station of the youth and another Bengali. The former, who proved to be Praphulla Ray, was armed with a Mauser pistol, No. 176437. In attempting to escape, he opened fire on the I.B. officer; the cartridge fortunately misfired. The second youth was one Satish Singh with whom gold ornaments stolen in the Jamnagar dacoity were found. Both men were important absconders of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti. Praphulla Ray and Satish Singh were convicted. Dacca Anusilan

16. On the 10th September 1917, the house of Bhupendra Acharji at Mymensingh was raided by the police on information that important absconders were hiding there. Absconders were found and arrested, and Mauser pistol No. 176440, a revolver, and revolutionary literature were recovered. Sadhana Samaj.

APPENDIX B 12.

INTERCHANGE OF ARMS.

STATEMENT OF No. 549, 1915.

A,* B† and C† met at College Square on Thursday evening. B said he would introduce A or D* to an arms dealer, but as D did not turn up, A did not agree to go. The arms seller is a European.

STATEMENT OF No. 1, 1916.

One day A,* B* and C* went to the house of D† and he gave our party (Dacca Anusilan) 4 mauser pistols. B and C went some days after this to Chandernagore at Matī Ray's place and brought over cartridges (one full biscuit tin case). C then left for Dacca with this food (cartridges) and 4 mauser pistols.

STATEMENT OF No. 193, 1916.

Rash Bihari was to use Benares as a base, and arms and bombs were to be sent from Bengal to Benares and thence up-country. Srish said almost all the Chandernagore stock bombs and 100 revolvers had been sent to Benares. Babu Rao was asked to try to arrange for trouble to take place in Maharashtra, as when the rising took place in the Punjab there were to be similar disturbances in the Maharashtra and Bengal, and also to raise money from the Marwaris. Babu Rao said he could do nothing in the Maharashtra as he knew nobody there, but he would try to get money.

STATEMENT OF No. 24, 1916.

I heard subsequently from A* that one mauser and one .450 bore revolver were borrowed from the West Bengal party. I do not know how it was borrowed and when and by whom.

STATEMENT OF No. 363, 1917.

I know positively that Upadhyay procured rifles and revolvers from the Jugantar party and handed them over to Chandra Kanta Basu, who took them to Dacca in a pillow. Pulin Das.* of Dacca, also visited Upadhyay and took some arms.

STATEMENT OF No. 58, 1916.

About a year ago one day Tulsi said that one of the members of the Rangpur party wanted a revolver. He did not give his name. Tulsi went to Calcutta with one revolver he had with him, and on his return said that he gave it to the aforesaid member of the Rangpur party.

Tulsi and Khagendra came out a few minutes afterwards and said that they saw Makhan Babu, who sent a man to Parbati Mukharji. Parbati Mukharji came to Tulsi with them and they took away the big revolver to Calcutta.

One day at noon, this Naren Babu came to Tulsi Ghosh's house and deposited some arms with Tulsi.

STATEMENT OF No. 72, 1916.

On this occasion, Srish Pal gave Tulsi two mauser pistols and 200 cartridges.

Tulsi stayed in Srish Pal's house for some time and that night Pran Kumar of the Barisal party came and gave Srish one bomb and one mauser.

Tulsi went to Dafarpur for the arms, as Pran Kumar had asked Srish to give Tulsi some revolvers for a certain action. When Tulsi brought the pistols he did not find Srish, so he went to the *basha* at Garpar and there saw Pran Kumar. Jiten Ray came in a little later. There were two or three others there. Tulsi gave Pran Kumar two mausers and three 450's. I heard from a certain leader that the arms and ammunition looted from Rodda & Co's consignment were distributed to the several parties as noted below—

- (1) Jatin Mukharji's party—23 mausers and 4,000 cartridges.
- (2) Mati Lal Ray, the leader of the Chandernagore party—9,000 cartridges.
- (3) Abinash Ray, of Pabna—2 mausers and 700 cartridges.
- (4) Barisal party—5 mausers and a quantity of cartridges.
- (5) Rash Bihari Basu (absconder)—1 mauser and 100 cartridges.
- (6) Alam Bazar party—1 mauser and about 1,000 cartridges.

* Dacca Anusilan Samiti.
† Western Bengal party.

Bepin Ganguli supplied the Dacca Anusilan Samiti with four mauser pistols. I also heard, whilst at the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, that Jatin Mukharji gave them 4 mausers and that Abinash Ray, of Rangpur, also received two from Jatin. One mauser was lost in the Beliaghata dacoity, and four lost at Balasore. I saw about 7 or 8 mausers and revolvers in Jatin Mukharji's party. Ananta Mazumdar had one mauser which was used in the Gopi Mohan Roy's Lane dacoity. Haripada Ray Chaudhuri had another mauser; Ghosh had another.

STATEMENT OF No. 74, 1916.

Later on I learnt in different ways the whole story. There were probably 10 or 11 boxes; one was a big box. One of these was given by Anukul immediately after the theft to Narendra Mohan Ghosh Chaudhuri, who was convicted in the Sibpur case. I do not know where Narendra's box was taken to, but I learnt later that Naren purchased some leather bags, and had sent them all off by train from Sealdah station to other places. I gathered it was Chandernagore. I think the cartridges were given either to Mati Lal Ray or some one of his party. About this time Jadu Gopal got possession of 4 or 5 trunks of ammunition.

After the theft one big box and three or four small boxes were taken to Bijay Kumar's house. Naren Ghosh Chaudhuri got one small box from Anukul Mukharji and removed it at once to some place at Tal, whence he removed it again to Mati Lal Ray's at Chandernagore. Anukul made the box over on the 26th afternoon. Of the 48 pistols in the big box, 22 were made over by Hari Sikdar's Bhowanipur friend to Jadu Gopal Mukharji, who made them over to Jatin Mukharji's party, of which he was a member. Of the remaining 26, two were sent to Srish Mitra *alias* Habu. Of the 20 or (?) given to Jadu Gopal, 6 or 8 were returned through Ashu Lahiri to Bepin Ganguli. I believe Bepin himself did not know Hari Sikdar's friend at Bhowanipur, but indented on Hari Sikdar for some 12 or 14 pistols at various times. He gave about 4 or 2 to Naren Ghosh Chaudhuri, who got two or three more from Jadu Gopal's party. Bepin gave about 3 or 4 to Abinash Ray, and 2 or 3 to Bijay Ray Kabiraj.

All the remaining 8,000 rounds were taken by Mati Ray's men to Chandernagore.

APPENDIX B 13.

PREPARATION OF BOMBS AT CHANDERNAGORE.

STATEMENT OF No. 126, 1911.

B (of Chandernagore) told C that he would give him a thing that he would have to take to a house named and give it to a boy, D. At about 3 P.M. on that day B came to C's room and gave C a thing wrapped in a paper. He told him to hold the handle, then carry it gently and carefully and give it to D. B then left C. C then went to the house named and saw D, and told him how to hold it and advised him to carry it gently.

STATEMENT OF No. 1, 1916.

Chandernagore bombs are picric acid bombs (of the Musalmanpara type). Manindra Naik is an expert hand at preparing these. I saw him preparing bombs at Mati Lal Ray's place at Barai Chanditala, Chandernagore. This was in the summer of 1913. Shasanka learnt bomb-making from Amarendra.

STATEMENT OF No. 218, 1914.

I did not know the bombs were sent back to Chandernagore. The bombs used to be filled by Ram Babu and Shyam Babu. These persons lived at Chandernagore and were members of the old Jugantar party and Western Bengal men. Ram Babu, whom I could recognize, used to come to Shasanka's house.

STATEMENT OF No. 73, 1916.

We returned to Calcutta before the Musalmanpara bomb case. I know nothing of the case, but I heard that Nagendra Sen was a member of the Anusilan Samiti and was guilty. I probably heard this from A, who told me also that the bombs came from Chandernagore and that they paid Rs. 20 for them.

STATEMENT OF No. 57, 1916.

Regarding Nagen Sen and the Musalmanpara bomb case, D told me that the bombs had been taken from Chandernagore, where E lives. The bomb accidentally injured Nagen owing to bad preparation. Nagen was one of the bomb-throwers, and the revolver which was found by Nagen's side belonged to the Faridpur party. I heard from D that the revolver had been stolen from a pleader.

STATEMENT OF No. 1, 1916.

Trailakhya Chakrabarti had secured bombs already from Chandernagore and these were kept with us.

APPENDIX B 14.

KUNTAL CHAKRABARTI'S LETTER.

*Found in 1918 in the room of an absconder who was arrested while trying to escape.
A revolver, seditious leaflets, etc., were also found there.*

"2nd January."

MY DEAR DADA,

I learn from your letter that you were a little surprised to read my former letter. Is it due to the fact of your coming to know that our strength is much below your expectation? The work for which you have gone there has my wholehearted sympathy. Did I ever write anything to the contrary? Then why have you blamed me for many defects for nothing? I have never been unwilling to amalgamate.

In the first place I am writing to you about my health. One night while coughing I expectorated a little blood with sputum. Before that I had an attack of cough and cold due to exposure. The blood came out 2 or 4 times at an interval of a few minutes. In the morning there was no sign of blood. I consulted the doctor there. I am taking Angier's Emulsion, Syrup Ghioceal, Vitafer and Horlick's milk.† The doctor says that there is nothing serious, perhaps it (blood) came out from the throat. There are many disadvantages in living with Mama (maternal uncle), hence I am living here now. I am comparatively well and trying for "Change." Perhaps I will reside in some village after two or three months.

† These medicines were found with pistol cartridges in the room of a person A, absconding on a charge of revolutionary murder. The letter is stated by confessing revolutionaries to be written by him

You have this defect, that when you read our letters, you take us to be so many petty "diplomats." You entertain doubts about the truthfulness of our words because you have this "notion" of us. There would have been no cause for your suspicion if you believed all my words to be nothing but the plain truth. I cannot always give proper vent to my feelings. Perhaps I use "contradictory words" many times. But whatever I write is nothing but the truth. I never play false with you. For instance, I once wrote to you about my younger brother.‡ He is as good as "BK."§ Again I might have once written to you that he is absolutely inexperienced. My first opinion (that he is as good as BK) was formed after seeing his "sincerity," but he is very weak and too good.

‡ A wounded absconder B was found with A. According to confessions this sentence refers to B.
§ C, previously arrested armed with a loaded revolver.

Like me he is always sick and consequently of no use.

At times I really make many mistakes. I can assure you that they are seldom due to any "diplomacy or policy" on my part. Nor are they due to any pride on my part as you say. They are due to my childishness and ignorance. If pride means thinking too much of oneself, then I can strongly assert that I never think such things. It is quite possible that pride often works stealthily. Knowingly I never indulge in pride. I think it is right to warn my brother, elder or younger, if I detect in them any such thing. I am not yet fit and I have still many things to learn. Under the circumstances it is unavoidable to commit mistakes.

Before telling you how many and what sorts of men there are in our party, I should like to say a few words in a "general" way. Not once but repeatedly I have told you that we have got nothing. Having this "notion" about us that we are "diplomats" and act on "policy," you imagine that perhaps we are keeping back something (from you) when we say that we have nothing. But really it is not so; we have actually got nothing. You should understand that a tremendous power is thinking every moment how to secure our destruction. They have got much convenient machinery like the "Defence Act," etc.

The people of the country have no longer their "individual liberty." Under the circumstances how can you expect us to have anything. One gives out the names of 10 others—and they in their turn give out something. By this process we have been entirely weakened. Even the enemy don't consider that those who remain are worth taking. There are very few deserving men who are not being vigorously "watched," hence they are absolutely of no use. You are not able to grasp the situation properly because you are living far away from the "practical field." I wonder why you cannot understand the situation properly though you all, being constantly chased, have reached the extreme ends of the country and are sitting alone separated from one another. Still you don't understand the position. The condition here beggars all description. There is panic everywhere. There is no knowing when one will go (be arrested). A trusted friend can no longer be trusted lest he puts us into difficulty by giving out something. No one wants to see us. If met by chance they turn their face to avoid us. The "guardians" hate us more than the enemies. The students also are anxious to avoid us. Those who were eager to talk to us before now pretend to be dumb. I do not like to draw out this letter with "concrete examples." Try to understand the whole by hearing a part only. Perhaps you know how "obliging" our Barada was formerly. He has prohibited Mama from entering into his house. I have personally heard from Chotda (young brother) when I had been to his place one day that the Shejda (3rd brother) of that house mixes with the "spies."

Hundreds of such instances can be cited. The long and short of this is that our countrymen and our own men have got no "faith" in us. I have no power to make you understand even were I to write a thousand words. You will kindly try with your own intelligence to understand from what little I write. Do not accuse me of "diplomacy" if you find anything wrong in my sentences. If hearts could be seen I could then have shown you how frank and simple I am in these matters. I am not accustomed to show "diplomacy" with you. On the other hand I think we should lose by that. We are neither depressed nor proud. At least I have a right to say this about myself. By obscurities we are at a loss to know what to do. For this reason I wish to give up this "destructive work" in view of the present situation of the country and settle somewhere to begin "constructive work" in silence for the country.

You understand things much better than I do. After seeing and hearing everything please give me some "particular" order. I on my part will obey that "gladly."

*The usual revolutionary word for being arrested.

In this connection I would like to mention that some sort of change is happening every day. Almost daily some one or other is dying* though no new one is forthcoming. Therefore, gradually our position is becoming very deplorable. If I had made any promise even a month ago I cannot now fulfil it for want of men or some other reason. One day you may possibly hear the news of our death. Ghunti's condition is worse than ours. There he gets no one's "support." Without money he can do nothing; and there is not a single pice in hand. There is a place where he is staying at present. There is no other shelter if he loses that. He wants to come over to our place. We would be quite helpless if you or *Mejdara* (Mejda and his party) were to come here for want of shelter.

Do you keep any information about them? We do not get or keep any information about them.

Now I shall try to say what we have got. We had something in the following places so far as I am aware, viz., in Calcutta—in "BK's country"—in my country—in Sadasiv's country—in your country—at "Berhampore"—in Nabin's country and at Nadia. I am leaving alone "East Bengal," because I or we do not know anything about that. Now hear the "details."

In "Calcutta" not a single "local unsuspected" person is living. There was a "batch" of boys from 10 to 15 years of age. Their names also appear in the "black book." We 3 and 2 or 3 of Sadasiv's party are the only persons who can move about. Of the rest there is not a single "unsuspected." There are 3 or 4 of "BK's" country, but they are being vigorously "watched." Recently Chhotabhai fell in danger when he went there to see them.

To speak of real men there are 10 or 15 in "BK's" country, but with the exception of 1 or 2 they are dangerously "suspected." They are always apprehending death.

There are many minors in "OK's" country. But they have none over their head. Therefore some have deserted and others are going to do the same. I do not know what to do and what not to do. I am myself "weak," cannot proceed far and do not venture to do so. Moreover nothing is to be gained by proceeding in this manner. Fifteen days ago 2 or 3 men were taken away; and there is now no certainty who else will follow suit on their statements.

Nabin has come to know from some "reasonable source" that Sadasiv associates himself with "spies." I cannot, however, fully believe this though he is not above suspicion. There is no one else but a number of "stray boys" in his country. There are a few also in Calcutta. They appear to be very sincere.

There is nothing in your country. If there is anything you know it is of no consequence.

I do not know any news of Berhampur. I do not attempt to know though there are means of knowing.

Lastly, I would speak to you about Nabin's men. I had an interview with him. They want to remain calm and quiet. They have almost been annihilated. Two or 4 (some) of them have become "a b c." He is strongly in favour of amalgamation. But they have no power to do anything so they have said that they will not be able to render us any help within a year. Meanwhile they will provide for themselves. They promised to pay something every month to Ghunti, but up to date have not sent even a pie. Bhattacharji, too, did not turn up on Xmas day. They are willing to do "action" if required and if the necessary strength is available. They have got no strength and hence they would not be able to render any assistance. On the whole, they want to remain silent for some time.

"Nadia," which I knew had something, is now bereft of everything.

This is all we have got. You have asked me to inform Haren Da what is to be done and what is not to be done. Please let me know "particularly" after reviewing our position what I am to say and to whom and with what object I shall act accordingly.

Then I would like to say something about money matters. Our monthly income consists only in Rs. 25 from Kalamani and Rs. 10 from Calcutta. Besides this we have nothing, but occasionally we get a few rupees from this or that person. That, too, is not even regularly sent by Kalamani. About a month ago he sent us the previous 3 months' amount together. He won't be able to send anything this month, but will try if he can in the next month. He who pays in Calcutta pays "regularly." Then again just listen to our expenditure.

The "Mama" has spent his "last hundred" for you all. I myself have been meeting his expenses for 2 or 3 months. At present he has run into debt to the amount of Rs. 60 or Rs. 70; and moreover has been able to send home only Rs. 30 in the last month.

instead of Rs. 40. At present he is penniless. The other day I went and paid him Rs. 2. He has written to "Haren Da" asking for Rs. 100 to cover all expenses. I do not know if Haren Da will be able to pay. Haren Da has up to now paid Rs. 30 for "Mama." Over and above that we are 3 in Calcutta. Two of us live in Haren Da's house and at his expense. The third man lives elsewhere. His monthly expenses amount to Rs. 30. To economise expenses I have kept Chhotabhai with me. He would cost Rs. 30 per month if kept elsewhere. I have been provided for by Haren Da for a long time. Over and above I have to spend much for occasional sickness of myself and Chhotabhai. Sometimes I feel despair when thinking of money matters. I have been trying for an "action," but all of a sudden fell ill.

I asked for Rs. 2,000 with a view of getting some persons one at a time "settled" for good. Perhaps I was not wrong in doing so. I wanted to furnish Mama with money which would last one year. I had a mind to open some shops. I also wished to pay some one Rs. 100 to learn something. We would have been much benefited if he could learn that. If the "Pressman" was paid something (at least Rs. 400) we could have made him our own man.

However, think over everything. I do not consider it necessary to write more.

As soon as "H" Babu arrives, I will introduce him to Ghunti.

Seeing your delay I was compelled to get the paper printed. I was advised by every one that if it was at all necessary to print it, it should be printed before Montagu's arrival in Calcutta. I consulted Haren Da and Ghunti in this matter and Haren Da himself met all expenses.

I did not understand before that you sent a letter to the old man. However, do so once again. I shall be able to go. The "Arya" magazine which you wanted before would cost Rs. 14. I shall purchase and send the same to you as soon as I can secure money.

What more shall I write. Perhaps I shall recover very soon.

The end.

APPENDIX B 15.

THE POLICE OF BENGAL.

1. *Area and population.*—The Presidency of Bengal, excluding Calcutta and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, comprises an area of 73,529 square miles and is divided into 26 districts of varying sizes. The total population according to the last census was 44,453,180, of whom only 2,049,570 persons live in towns. The average density of the population is 578 per square mile, but in some of the rural areas it is as high as 2,000.

2. *Physical characteristics.*—The physical characteristics of the Presidency make the police administration an extremely difficult problem. Communications are slow and difficult, as there are only about 3,000 miles of railway, while, except in a few districts around Calcutta, good roads are almost absent, and unfordable streams frequently intervene. This difficulty is particularly felt in Eastern Bengal districts, where the great river systems of Northern India converge and branch out into innumerable streamlets and waterways, and afford easy facilities to criminals for baffling the vigilance of the police. Speaking of this area, the District Administration Committee of 1913-14 remarked:—

“No one who has not travelled over its rural areas is likely to grasp its difficulties. Communications are more precarious, more scanty and more inefficient than those of any part of India known to us. Traversed by mighty rivers and tributary streams, visited by abundant rains, these Eastern districts are mainly a water country, which yields rich harvests of rice and jute to a teeming population, partly concentrated in a few towns, but mainly scattered over a multitude of villages. The villages, often close to marshes or winding along the banks of some tortuous stream, generally consist of scattered homesteads, built on whatever rising ground may be available. Often the houses are hidden in thickets of bamboos, fruit trees and undergrowth. In the rains vast portions of land are completely submerged; the houses, each on its plot of naturally or artificially raised land, stand up like islands in the flood, and only a few of the more important roads are out of water. Boats are the ordinary means of transit, and markets spring up on the banks of the waterways. Even in the drier weather the country is intersected by streams and creeks. It is easy for wary dacoits to choose their time and prey, to effect their purpose and to disappear, leaving no tracks behind.”

3. The town and suburbs of Calcutta are, for police purposes, under the Commissioner of Police. The police force for the rest of the Presidency (except Chittagong Hill Tracts) is under the Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, with headquarters in Calcutta.

4. The Calcutta Police has a total strength of 18 officers of the rank of Superintendent and above—

31 Inspectors.

119 Sub-Inspectors.

151 Sergeants.

531 Head Constables.

4,222 Constables, including the armed police.

5. Each of the 26 districts in Bengal is in charge of a Superintendent of Police, generally a European officer. In some of the larger districts he is assisted by one or more Additional Superintendent of Police. The Superintendent of Police is responsible to the District Magistrate for the maintenance of law and order and the prevention and detection of crime in his charge.

6. The districts are divided into subdivisions, each of which generally is in charge of an officer of the rank of Deputy Superintendent or Inspector of Police.

7. The average area of these 26 districts is 2,830 square miles, some are about 5,000 square miles and one over 6,000 square miles. The Presidency is very thinly policed, the proportion of police to area being 1 to 3·3 square miles and to population 1 to 2,200 persons.

There are 49 Superintendents and 49 Assistant Superintendents, British officers, except in two instances, 29 Deputy Superintendents, Indians, except in three instances. There are 115 Circle Inspectors, 1,705 Sub-Inspectors (investigating as well as prosecuting officers), and 17,648 constables.

8. The Inspector's circle comprises an average area of 640 square miles, but sometimes covers 1,000 square miles, and in one or two cases more than 1,200 square miles and contains on an average five or six police-stations.

9. A police-station in Bengal covers an average area of 110 square miles, but many of them have more than 250 square miles and some as many as 500 square miles.

There is ordinarily only one investigation officer attached to a police-station, though in some cases he has two or more additional officers to assist.

There is a staff of constables, numbering generally from 6 to 18, attached to each police-station. These men are almost all illiterate and are not employed in investigation work. Their duties are merely routine, confined to such work as the execution of warrants, patrols and escorts of prisoners.

10. Besides the regular police, there is in each village a local watchman, known as "chaukidar," paid for by the villagers. He is not a whole-time servant, is usually a cultivator, and as a rule wholly illiterate. His primary function is to keep watch and ward and report matters of interest occurring in his village to the officer in charge of the police-station. His remuneration averages Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 per mensem. In some districts he is subordinate to the District Magistrate and in others to the Superintendent of Police. Groups of chaukidars, numbering about 12, work under a dafadar, who is supposed generally to supervise their work.

11. The latest reports available give the sanctioned strength of the constabulary in the British Isles (excluding special constables enlisted since the war) as follows:—

Metropolitan Police	...	...	22,276
County and Borough Police in England and Wales	...	...	35,439
County and Borough Police for Scotland	...	...	5,953
County and Borough Police for Ireland—			
(a) Royal Irish Constabulary	...	...	9,625
(b) Dublin Metropolitan Police	...	...	1,181
Total	...	...	74,474

Taking the population of the British Isles as 44½ millions, this leaves an average of one policeman to every 590 inhabitants.

APPENDIX C.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA (CONSOLIDATION) RULES, 1915.

* * * * *

3. Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has acted, is acting, or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India, the Local Government may, by order in writing, direct that such person—

- Powers to deal with suspects.
- (a) shall not enter, reside or remain in any area specified in the order;
 - (b) shall reside or remain in any area in British India so specified;
 - (c) shall conduct himself in such manner or abstain from such acts or take such order with any property in his possession or under his control as may be specified in such order:

Provided that a Local Government shall not make an order under clause (b) of this rule specifying an area outside the province without the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council.

4. An order made under rule 3 shall be served on the person in respect of whom it is made in the manner provided in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for service of a summons, and upon such service such person shall be deemed to have had due notice thereof.

Service of orders under rule 3.

5. Whoever being a person in respect of whom an order has been made under rule 3 knowingly disobeys any direction in such order shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Penalty for breach of orders under rule 3.

6. (1) Every person in respect of whom an order has been made under rule 3 shall, if so directed by any officer authorised in this behalf by general or special order of the Local Government,—

Power of photographing, etc., persons against whom orders under rule 3 have been made.

- (a) permit himself to be photographed;
- (b) allow his finger impressions to be taken;
- (c) furnish such officer with specimens of his handwriting and signature;
- (d) attend at such times and places as such officer may direct for all or any of the foregoing purposes.

(2) If any person fails to comply with, or attempts to evade, any direction given in accordance with the provisions of this rule, he shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000, or with both.

7. The power to issue search-warrants conferred by section 98 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall be deemed to include a power to issue warrants authorising the search of any place in which any Magistrate, mentioned in that section, has reason to believe that an offence under the foregoing rules or any offence prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India has been, is being, or is about to be, committed, and the seizure of anything found therein or thereon which the officer executing the warrant has reason to believe is being used or intended to be used for any such purpose as aforesaid, and the provisions of the said Code, so far as they can be made applicable, shall apply to searches made under the authority of any warrant issued under this rule and to the disposal of any property seized in any such search.

* * * * *

12A. (1) Any officer of Government authorised in this behalf by a general or special order of the Local Government may arrest without warrant any person against whom a reasonable suspicion exists that he has acted, is acting, or is about to act, with intent to assist the King's enemies in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India.

Power to arrest and detain persons suspected of acting with intent to assist the King's enemies in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India.

(2) Any officer exercising the power conferred by this rule may use any and every means necessary to enforce the same.

(3) Any officer making an arrest under this rule shall forthwith report the fact to the Local Government and pending receipt of the orders of the Local Government may by order in writing commit any person so arrested to such custody as the Local Government may by general or special order specify in this behalf.

Provided that no person shall be detained in custody for a period exceeding fifteen days without the order of the Local Government:

Provided further that no person shall be detained in custody under this rule for a period beyond a month.]

(4) The Local Government may direct that any person arrested under this rule shall be transferred to any other province, and the Local Government of such province shall, on such transfer, deal with the case as if such person had been arrested under its own orders:

Provided that nothing in this sub-rule shall be deemed to extend the period of detention prescribed by the second proviso to sub-rule (3).]

¹ Inserted by Notification No. 5020, dated 17th December 1915, see *Gazette of India*, 1915, Part I, page 2108.

² Inserted by Notification No. 927, dated 10th April 1917, see *Gazette of India*, 1917, Part I, page 615.

